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ESSAYS,
LITERARY, POLITICAL,
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IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY
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the Royal Society of Edinburgh, &c.

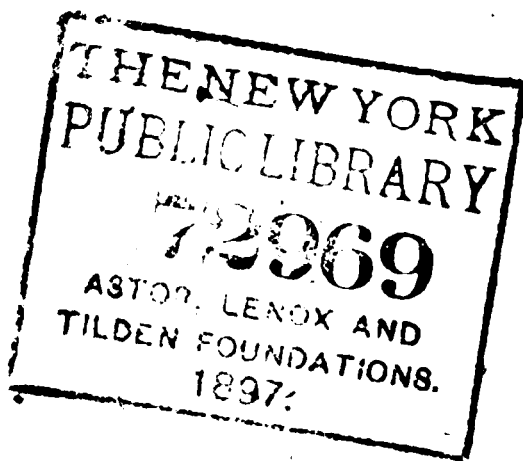
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CONJECTURES

ON THE

ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

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CONJECTURES

ON THE

ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

Par. 1. THE origin of language is a subject of such curious speculation, that I can scarcely conceive that it ever escaped altogether the serious consideration of any man of capacity and reflection. Before I read any author on the origin of language, it was with me a subject of contemplation, and which afforded an agreeable amusement ; but I never did suppose the great difficulty and immense length of time necessary for the formation of speech which those men have suggested. Some have even gone so far as to allege the invention of language to be beyond the powers of man, and have given it, of course,

a Divine origin. * From a similar way of reasoning, the astonishing invention of men in mechanics, navigation, &c. might be ascribed to the same source. But there is no necessity for such a supposition, seeing that the Author of Nature has been more benevolent than we could infer from such an hypothesis, by his endowing man with such a high degree of intellect, as to enable him not only to invent language, but to accomplish such things as in former ages would have been thought impossible. Besides, every thing that comes directly from God, is known to be perfect; but the works of men are imperfect, as has always been the case with languages, even the most complete that ever existed. As the power of forming a language, and of easily attaining such a valuable acquisition, arises from the exercise of those faculties of the mind conferred on man by the Creator, and which renders

* To this opinion, the learned, correct, and eloquent Dr Blair, seems to incline, though he asserts it not positively. — *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, vol. I, p. 126. 8vo. 1793.

ders him fuperior to all other terreftrial beings : fo, in this view, and in no other, language may be faid to have a Divine origin.

2. Many have been ftrongly impreffed with an idea of an original language, fpoken univerfally by the firft inhabitants of the earth, from which they fupposed all other fucceeding languages to have been derived. The moft ancient opinion of the fort was in favour of the Hebrew, probably from its being the language of the Patriarchs, and with very little alteration of feveral nations bordering on the Mediterranean and the kingdom of Judea.* The Hebrew

* It is probable that Noah fpoke the language of Adam ; but, foon after his time, it feems to have undergone fuch alterations as to conftitute different languages ; for Mofes, in his relation of the diftribution of the lands among the defcendants of Noah, fays, ‘ By thefe were the ifles of ‘ the Gentiles divided in their lands ; every one after his ‘ tongue, after their families, in their nations.’ (Gen. chap. x. ver. 5.) It is moft likely, that the Chaldee fpoken by Abraham, differed not fo much from the purer Hebrew of

brew tongue, as spoken by the Jews, was no doubt corrupted by the languages of the more eastern nations, during and after the Babylonish captivity ; but, to this day, the Arabic, Persian, Chaldean, Syriac, and other languages in the East, are evidently dialects of it. Some learned authors are of opinion, that the Coptic, before the time of Alexander the Great, was a dialect of the Hebrew. From it, they say, the Sanscrit was formed, now only used in India, in the sacred writings and records, as the Slavonian is in Russia, in the Divine service ; but neither of them are spoken or known to the vulgar in either country. This extensive influence of the ancient Hebrew, proves not, however, that it was ever an universal language, or that all other
tongues

of the Canaanites in his time, as it did in after ages, for he was readily understood when he arrived among them. That the language of Shinaar differed from the purer Hebrew spoken on this side the Euphrates, appears also from the monument raised on Mount Gilead by Jacob and Laban, each giving it a different name, according to the idiom of his language.—Gen. chap. xxxi. ver. 47.

tongues were derived from it. Even the early corruption of the Hebrew by foreign nations, is a presumption that other languages then subsisted, which probably, in their origin, had no connexion with the Hebrew.

3. John Goropius of Brabant, physician to the Queens of France and Hungary, was weak enough to write a treatise to prove that the Tunic was the language of Eden, which made Mr Butler, in his Hudibras, say of Eve, ‘ That
 ‘ the devil tempted her by a high Dutch inter-
 ‘ preter.’ But the most that can be said of this language is, that different dialects of it were spoken through the whole of the north-east of Asia, to the utmost extent of the Tartar nations; and by emigrations of the natives of those countries, it spread over Europe, where many dialects of it still subsist. Before the coming of the Romans into Gaul, the Celtic was the vernacular tongue of a great part of Europe, and of the British isles, but is now confined to the Highlands of Scotland, the Hebrides, Wales, Ireland,

land, and part of Picardy in France. It is almost unnecessary to mention either the Greek or Latin tongues, or any of those European languages derived from the Latin. The Greek, by ancient tradition, is said to have come from Egypt, by the Pelasgi, into Greece; and the Latin to have been formed from an ancient dialect of the Pelasgi, after several migrations of that people from Arcadia into Italy. What I wish chiefly to show is, that neither the Gothic, Celtic, Greek, or Latin tongues, however ancient and extensive, were ever universal, and that they differ essentially from other languages, probably of equal antiquity, as the Chinese, the Malay, the Caribbee, the several languages of the American Indians, &c.

4. That there have been several primitive languages, each peculiar to certain countries or islands, is extremely probable; but that there ever was a language from which all others were derived, is improbable. For, on the supposition of an universal language, it is natural to suppose that

that every succeeding tongue would have some resemblance, however faint, to its ancient parent ; it would contain some of its radical words, or show its relationship in some other respect. But this is not the case : For, besides the languages just mentioned, those of some of the tribes of negroes in Africa, of the inhabitants of New Holland, Otaheite, and other islands in the South Sea, show not, from the most accurate observations of voyagers and travellers, the smallest affinity to the Hebrew, or the other ancient languages of Europe and Asia. These facts are so incontestibly proved by both ancient and modern travellers and voyagers of the strictest veracity, that there is not left the least room to doubt the originality of many languages, in as many different regions of the earth. This no doubt supposes different races of men to invent these various languages, and which I shall, in the sequel, endeavour to show, have at all times really existed : But as language alone is my present subject, I proceed first to the consideration of it.

5. That the progress of language must have been very slow, and its advancement to the perfection in which it is found in different countries extremely gradual, may be readily supposed ; but that the first formation of language should require so high a degree of genius and art, and so great a length of time as philosophers give out, is improbable. Language is found in every inhabited country, and even original tongues with people of the meanest capacities ; which contradicts the supposition of an immense difficulty in its formation. We know nothing of the precise manner in which the different creations of men have been by the Almighty power effected, except that of Adam and Eve ; and if the rest were likewise created in an adult state, then we cannot suppose them to have remained long without language.

6. Let us suppose two persons, male and female, just brought into existence, without language, but with the requisite qualifications for the formation of speech, viz. capacity, the exercise

cise of their external senses, and of the faculties of the mind, with the organs of speech; left, however, in other respects, to their natural sagacity to provide for their preservation, and the formation of a language. In such an imperfect state of the mind, we must suppose their capacities to improve slowly, from the impression of external objects on their organs of sense, by which the mind is stored with ideas for the exertion of its powers. Then the exercise of the memory, the comparing of ideas, acquiring new ones, and reflecting on their knowledge, would all tend to enlarge their minds, and to give strength and accuracy to their faculty of reasoning. Among the first exertions of the mind, is an instinctive desire of expressing our thoughts by articulate sounds, which is natural to man; but the practice of it is an art, and the words comprehending the several parts of speech are arbitrary, from which have arisen the various languages in different parts of the world. But the advancement in language must be slow, especially if we restrict the society to two persons,

though it will soon be sufficient to express their ideas and their wants, which in such a state must be few : For I have no difficulty in supposing men, soon after their creation, to be extremely solicitous to form and acquire language for communicating their thoughts.

7. On this subject, a very different representation of the advancement of knowledge, in the primitive state of man, has been given us by some ancient and modern writers,* who say that men for many ages dwelt in caverns of rocks, and in dens, living on acorns and roots, like the beasts of the field. This may have been the case with some unfocial individuals, or with hunters, as is done to this day in temperate climates, but never could be the general practice of a nation. We are likewise told, that these savage men, of great bodily strength,

* Vitruvius, lib. II. cap. 1. ; Diodorus Siculus, lib. I. ; and Lord Monboddo, the learned and ingenious author on the Origin of Languages.

strength, but with slender capacities, used signs, gestures, expressions of the countenance, and particular inarticulate cries, for several ages, to supply the place of language. Few of the ancient heathen philosophers were acquainted with the history of the creation as given us by Moses. This must have been chiefly owing to the Israelites being a sequestered and mysterious people, having little communication with neighbouring nations, and keeping the whole of their public records locked up from the sight of men, and under the custody of the High Priest, or his satellites the Levites. Those few who had seen, or rather heard, of the contents of the book of Genesis, would not probably reject altogether the truths therein contained, relative to the creation. But from their mythology, and the worship of idols, most of them inclined rather to follow the doctrine of Sanchoniathon, a Phœnician philosopher and historian of great antiquity.

8. Philo and Porphyry labour to prove that Sanchoniathon was cotemporary with Semira-

poets, rhetoricians, and orators, yet it is certain, that, in some parts of philosophy, they were mere children. It is probable, that the harmonious and smooth numbers of Lucretius, in his books *De Natura Rerum*, went a great way towards the establishment of some absurd doctrines of Epicurus. But we are surpris'd to find, in the list of the advocates for the savagism of man in his primitive state, the names of Diodorus Siculus, Horace, Vitruvius, Cicero, and others of high rank and reputation among the ancients, who are sometimes cited in confirmation of the fact, as if they had received the knowledge of it by Divine revelation.

10. But the opinions of these men on this subject, are now, in the estimation of the judicious, of no greater weight, than those of others equally ancient, and ought not to have the same authority with the opinions of the moderns, who have the experience of more than two thousand years in their favour. For as language was formed and brought to a great degree of perfection

perfection long before the æra of any historian with whom we are acquainted, the antiquity of the Greek and Roman writers, who, in regard to the creation of the world, are comparatively of yesterday, gives them no advantage in this inquiry over the philosophers of modern times.

11. It must however be confessed, that there are some moderns so inordinately attached to the ancients, that they seem rather inclined to follow them, even in their errors, than to think for themselves, or to attempt, by any painful mental exertion, to expiscate the truth. These men fancy that the original progenitors of mankind were left entirely to themselves from the moment of their creation ; that they wandered about for ages without the use of speech, and in the lowest state of savagism. This is, however, a wild reverie, inconsistent with the economy of human nature.

12. But as all such suppositions, in the history of man, tend rather to mislead than to throw

throw the smallest light on so obscure a subject, these philosophers deserve not the least credit ; for there is no proof that any nation ever existed in such a state as they have hypothetically described. Some have even gone so far as to allege, that there are still existing certain tribes or nations, who have been, from their creation, in a state of improvement, but are to this day extremely ignorant, and without language. But this is a mistake ; for none of the human race have ever been found without language. They perhaps had not adverted to the wisdom of Nature in the creation of men in distinct races, with constitutions suited to the climate they were to inhabit. Besides, they ought to have remarked, that there is a conspicuous gradation of capacities in men, from the most enlightened European nations to the almost brutal Hottentots ; but, in this great variety of powers in the human mind, we must suppose some wise intention in Providence.

13. Let us leave these uncertain conjectures for a supposition much more probable—
that

that words would be daily invented and adopted to express new objects, thoughts, affections of the mind, wants, and desires, till a language was formed, imperfect indeed for some time, but intelligible, and always in a state of improvement. Some considerable time would be necessary for the formation of the declensions of nouns ; and they would probably undergo, from time to time, many alterations, before their precise form came, by general consent, to be fixed in the language. The formation of the plural number from the singular, by an alteration in the termination of the noun, would be easy ; but the formation of the cases, whether by inflection or by prepositions, sometimes called articles, would be difficult. The qualities of persons, and of things, would naturally suggest adjectives ; and pronouns, which give an elegance to language, would soon be invented. The sexes of animals would naturally suggest a distinction by genders ; and what could not be brought under the denomination of masculine or feminine, would fall to be of the neuter gender.

But

But so nice a distinction of genders, in things inanimate, as is to be found in the polished tongues of Greece and Rome, we are not to suppose would take place in rude languages. It is needless to mention adverbs, or such particles as, for the sake of distinctness and elegance, are gradually brought into every language, because I cannot suppose much genius required for their invention. In the first formation of a language, the most difficult part of speech would be the verb. Observing, however, that time was a necessary adjunct of all action, this would naturally lead them to express the time of the action, either by a variation of the termination, or by some word expressive of the time, by which their several moods and tenses would be formed. The passive voice, with the auxiliary verb, so useful in all languages, would likewise be an arduous task ; but time, the conqueror of all difficulties, would accomplish their formation. *

14.

* To give more than this superficial but probable account of the invention of the several parts of speech, is
thought

14. From what has been suggested, it will be readily perceived, that the several parts of speech would be gradually brought into use; but from the penury of words, and some ungrammatical expressions, the language would be to us rude, harsh, and disagreeable. In such a state, it might remain for several ages, with very little alteration; for it being intelligible, spoken fluently, and answering all the purposes of language, to tribes or nations in their primitive state, there would be no improvement of it till excited by some necessary alteration in their government

thought unnecessary; for it is not grammar of which the Author proposes to treat, but to submit to the reader his conjectures on the origin of language. To the Greek and Latin scholar, a grammatical dissertation would be superfluous; and as to the English reader, he will receive full information on this head, and on style, from Dr Lowth's Grammar, Priestly's Rudiments of the English Language, Campbell on the Theory of Rhetoric, Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and A. Smith on the Theory of Moral Sentiments; all of whom are authors of considerable merit.

government or mode of living. A propriety of expression preferable to what was in common use, would from time to time occur to men of capacity and discernment, which must be considered as the dawn of the invention of those natural grammar rules of which every man is more or less capable. By an accumulation of these rules, long before the invention of writing, a grammar for speech would gradually creep into the constitution of every language, which, in succeeding ages, would be improved by a correction of the old, and an addition of new rules, till the language became stationary. From the musical ear of man, which he possesses in so eminent a degree, harsh words would become obsolete, the gaping of vowels at the termination of one word and beginning of another avoided, and a musical arrangement and pronunciation of the language would be sometimes studied.

15. As population increased, men would naturally form themselves into societies for mutual defence, for carrying on some common labour,
for

for amusement, the pleasure of conversation, and information. Their employments in hunting, agriculture, manufactures, barter, and war, would each of them successively increase their vocabulary; new terms would be invented, and some knowledge of derivation and composition would be acquired. In this way language is improved, either till a more polished society, under a regular government, gives it the utmost degree of elegance of which it is capable; or the nation being overcome in war, it is corrupted by a mixture of other languages.

16. In the infancy of a language, we cannot suppose any considerable improvement to be made in it, till societies are formed and convened, for deliberating on the public or private affairs in which they are or may be concerned. For, in every large society, there will be a few with talents for public speaking; and some of them being men of genius and capacity, will deliver themselves with more ease, clearness of expression and method in the arrangement of their

their arguments, than the rest. Such men, being in general more correct than usual in their discourse, will be listened to with attention, and many of their expressions will be adopted and brought by degrees into common use, by those who wish to improve in the language of conversation. But if imitation and emulation have such effects at the commencement of societies, the improvement of language must gradually increase with the advancement of civilization, and the art of government.

17. Though there are certain other qualities peculiar to man, and requisite for the formation of speech, to be treated of in the sequel, yet what has been mentioned above may be considered as the outline of a natural method by which language is acquired. I know not, if what I have suggested on the origin of language, will seem equally clear and natural to others, as it has appeared to myself; for it is, no doubt, a subject of difficult investigation. In confirmation, however, of what I have said
on

on this subject, take the following citation of an ingenious and learned author, who has written on the origin and progress of language. After mentioning the language of the island of Otaheite to be smooth and easy of pronunciation, he says, ‘ I was informed by one of those gentlemen, to whom the learned world, and indeed all mankind, is so much obliged for the toils and dangers they have gone through in search of knowledge, that it is far from being a barbarous language: for they have cases of nouns, and tenses of verbs, which they form as we do; the case by prepositions, and the tenses by auxiliary verbs: and they have all the parts of speech that we have, without exception even of the adjective, which is not to be found in any barbarous language. There is likewise etymology in their language, that is, derivation and composition. And as to the length of their words, he told me they were generally of several syllables; and he could recollect but one monosyllable in the whole language, though he had

‘ applied himself particularly to the study of it,
 ‘ and had made so great proficiency as to be
 ‘ able to speak it with tolerable ease *. But it
 must be remarked, that the grammatical constitution of the language of Otaheite, must have arisen from practice and experience alone, they being ignorant of the use of letters.

18. It is much to be regretted, that some of these ingenious men, who, from their learning and abilities, were apparently the most capable of writing clearly and distinctly on the subject of language, should have involved their doctrine so much with metaphysical philosophy; which may instruct and amuse men of a similar taste in writing, but is not calculated for general information. The philosophy of a language; the tracing it to its elementary principles; the dividing these into vowels and consonants; the showing us the formation of the cases of nouns, and likewise the tenses and
 moods

* Of the Origin and Progress of Language. Edinburgh, 1774, Vol. I. p. 513.

moods of verbs ; the giving us an accurate account of the other parts of speech, with discourses on syntax and prosody, may tend to the improvement of language, but give us no just idea of its origin. From the example, however, not only of the inhabitants of Otaheite, but of all other nations, it is certain, that language was invented, practised, and improved, in every country, previous to the art of writing, and, of course, before any one thought of composing a grammar on the subject. * Even when grammars were written and given to the public, we cannot suppose them to have been more than a methodical collection of those natural grammar rules which had, in the manner above mentioned, gradually wrought themselves into the constitution of their language. Besides, we must suppose these rules, before they came to be digested

C 2

gested

* This is not peculiar to language, but is common to the sciences, founded on experience, accurate observation, and practice, and to all arts, invented and carried on with success, long before the principles on which they were established were given in systems to the world.

gested into the form of a grammar, would, from the experience of ages, the common sense of mankind, and the accurate discernment of men of genius, undergo such changes as would tend to the perfecting of the language. But as it is not so much the improvement of language I mean to prosecute, as to attempt some explanation of the origin of the faculty of speech in man, depending on certain qualifications and endowments possessed by him, but denied to the brute creation, I shall proceed to the consideration of them.

19. Hitherto our reasoning has been applied to man, in his adult state ; but, from our not knowing the precise condition of our first parents, as they came originally from the hands of the Creator, it has not been perhaps the most natural way of considering our subject. I shall therefore, in the subsequent pages, endeavour to trace the origin of speech from those endowments just mentioned, and which gradually unfold and strengthen during infancy and childhood.

hood. Infants are born mere animals, even inferior to some of the brute creation. From the exercise of their external senses being less perfect, they act solely by instinct, and continue in this state for some time. With the growth of the body, the external senses gradually improve; and with this improvement, there is a very slow and almost imperceptible acquisition of intellect, which gradually increases after the external senses have become complete, till it acquires its full powers in manhood. From the time the human intellect in infants begins to dawn, they acquire, by slow degrees, new faculties, which gradually improve; and by the repeated exercise of them, they contribute to the formation of speech.

20. The most essential organ for this faculty, is the ear; for without hearing, we can have no idea of sounds, on which speech is formed; and it is known, that persons deaf, though with the other requisites for speech, are always dumb. Hearing may be perfect, as in

brutes, for simple sounds ; but no speech can arise in them from the exercise of this faculty, because of a deficiency in the other requisites, and likewise from the want of a musical ear, which is essential to speech. Whatever view we take of nature, we see her intentions fulfilled, by a provision always adequate to the wisdom of the design ; and, in the present instance, it is clearly exemplified in man, who, of the whole creation, is alone intended for speech. To accomplish this end, if we except some birds, man alone is endowed with a musical ear ; at least he possesses it in a superior degree to all other animals. * But this faculty in man, is always accompanied with a degree of intellect denied to brutes, which enables him not only to recollect distinctly all the different sounds he has been accustomed to hear, but to place them in a musical arrangement, so as to produce melody, or even harmony, with other voices or instruments.

* *Vide* the Treatise on Literature, &c. Appendix, No. 4.

ments. The extent of his voice, when compared with that of the brute creation, is very considerable ; for the compass of birds, in their songs, seldom goes higher than three, and never rises above five notes, in any instance I can recollect. But the human voice, from being capable of performing, in clear and distinct sounds, almost any piece of music, possesses thereby a wonderful facility in expressing the several tones, accents, and inflections of the voice, so indispensable when we wish to convey our sentiments in a distinct and forcible manner.

21. These vocal powers are considerable in adults, with a greater or less degree of correctness in individuals : but in infants they are weak and imperfect, and acquired by very slow degrees ; for they do not attain to their full strength till manhood. After a few years, this is not so perceptible in speech as in singing ; for the nearer to infancy, the weaker is the voice, and the more incorrect the music. This incapability of the organs of speech in infants for the

performance of their functions, must be ascribed to a want of that due strength in the muscles of these organs, for that accurate, firm, and quick action, so necessary for distinct articulation, and which they in time acquire, first by instinctive, and afterwards by imitative pronunciation of sounds.

22. The progress of speech among individuals in children, is various, but will always be found to correspond with the degree of strength in the vocal organs, the advancement of intellect, and improvement of the ear. In acquiring language, the most difficult part of this process, to children, is pronunciation, which requires great practice, and many repetitions, before they become intelligible to their parents. They appear to have some knowledge of language, to know all the natural signs, and are even capable of some degree of reflection, before they can speak; which, at this time, is probably owing more to a deficiency of power in the muscles of the organs of speech, than to any defect in the ear or intellect.

23. The elementary sounds of speech, are nearly the same in all languages ; and if we except the clack of the Hottentots, and some guttural sounds of barbarous nations or tribes, they are accurately represented by various combinations of the letters of the alphabet, consisting of vowels and consonants. In the infancy of every language, the names of things and thoughts being arbitrary, there would be introduced certain sounds and modes of pronunciation, so peculiar to each, that, in some instances, they are acquired by foreigners with great difficulty. This, in our language, is in articulating certain syllables beginning or ending with a double consonant ; for the vowels in any tongue are easily pronounced : and more or less of the same difficulty is experienced by the natives of every country, in their first essays to speak a foreign language. For an accurate pronunciation is only to be obtained by length of time, and the best examples ; which is the reason why it is so seldom acquired by the vulgar, even in their vernacular tongue : but, in a foreign language, it requires

requires a good ear, and long practice, to speak it like a native. For the action of the muscles employed in the formation of speech, is of a nature so exquisitely nice, that the smallest conceivable variation from the exact mode in which they ought to act, to produce certain sounds, will be perceptible to a good ear.

24. From these facts and observations, it is easy to perceive how difficult to infants must be the acquisition of a correct pronunciation of words, which is at last attained, but not without much labour, attention, and many repetitions. This is, for several months, always preceded by an instinctive utterance of articulate sounds, but without meaning ; for childrens ideas of language are very imperfect, till after they are a year old. These sounds are mostly monosyllables, as, gu, uve, mem, nen, ba, bab, da, dad, ble ; and when, by practice, the pronunciation of them has become easy, they usually double the syllable, by saying gugu, mem mem, nen nen, &c. In this way, infants obtain from nature, by the time
they

they are nine or ten months old, the articulation of several syllables, which make part of words in every language, and composed of three vowels and seven consonants, near one half of every correct alphabet. When about a year old, children, from imitation, begin to articulate monosyllables, or dissyllables of easy pronunciation, as, tata, mamma, and, in a few months more, are able to say, yes, no ; and, in an imperfect manner, to name some of the domestics. But it is very remarkable, that as soon as they become the pupils of their mother, nurse, or other female, for the pronunciation of words, and can repeat two or three of them, they never again pronounce those syllables they had acquired from an instinctive utterance, and before they were capable of imitation. But this instinctive utterance of sounds, prompted by nature, must unquestionably facilitate afterwards the practice of forming sounds by imitation, which, when begun, is constantly exercised by a continued attention of the ear and intellect.

25. Previous to infants knowing their nurses, the memory is exceedingly faint, and scarcely discernible. From that period, however, we must suppose them to be possessed of it ; but this, the lowest perceptible condition of the human intellect, and memory, slowly but progressively gain strength, till both arrive at their greatest degree of power in manhood. These powers of the mind are sensibly increased in children, by the time they arrive at their twelfth or fourteenth month. By that period, they have acquired some degree of recollection ; their memory is more retentive than formerly, and reason begins to dawn ; the exercise of their external senses has become more complete, and the ideas arising from them more perfect ; their number gradually increases ; they seem capable of comparing them ; and have some degree of reflection. As their memory increases, they acquire a greater facility in recording words, or the names of things ; and it is extremely pleasant to hear them, in the morning, after they are awake, repeating the list of vocables they have

have been taught, and attempting new ones ; but these last they refuse to speak out, as if conscious of their incapability to pronounce them. * The progress of children in language, will always be found to keep pace with the improvement of the mental faculties, the strength of the organs employed in the formation of sounds, and the degree of accuracy of the ear, by which the nice movements of these organs are regulated. But as we know these qualifications indispensable for speech to be peculiar to man, and that they are denied to the brutes, no other explanation is necessary, why these last never did nor can arrive at language.

26. Several months previous to the articulation of words, and before infants have any knowledge

* This is perfectly similar to the practice of young birds, before they are able to sing their song round, or, when in a domesticated state, such little airs as they have been incompletely taught by a flagelet. For, in both cases, when they come to such passages as they are unable to execute, they break off abruptly, as if displeased with themselves, and mutter a little in a lower tone.

knowledge of language, they by degrees acquire the faculty of discovering certain affections of the mind in the mother, nurse, or bystander, from an expression of the countenance, gesture of the body, or a tone of voice peculiar to the passion then existing, whether it be anger, love, joy, or grief. These expressions of the countenance, in which the eyes act a principal part; the gesture of the body, and tone of voice expressive of our passions; are the language of nature, the same in all countries and nations; and are our first lessons in physiognomy, a science in which some men excel.

27. Man, in his adult state, and when the powers of his mind and body are in their full vigour, is even then a compound of animal life, of the passions inseparable from its nature, and of intellectual capacity; and is thereby obliged to act, both as an animal and a man. As he advances in life, the animal passions gradually abate of their intensity, while his intellectual capacity is proportionably enlarged. But this
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must be understood to take place only, where vicious habits have not been rivetted by long practice and bad example. On the contrary, though the animal powers are considerable in youth, and the faculties of the mind may be exercised with vigour and perseverance, yet there is in them a deficiency of judgement, in proportion as we retrograde to the age of boys or children, till we at last arrive at the condition of infants, where nothing is observed but the instinctive desires of an animal. The precise time at which the intellect comes to make part of the human system, is rather a subject of curiosity than use. We know it exists, though its powers are inconsiderable, when imitation commences ; and from that period, we perceive it gradually to gain strength. This increase of intellectual capacity, is in man a provision in nature for the study of science, of which language is a part, as well as an instrument by which it is acquired.

28. Science, of which every man, from the philosopher to the savage, is more or less capable,

ble, according to his capacity, application, and opportunities of improvement, comprehends the whole of human knowledge. The acquisition of science is always the result of an exercise of the powers of the mind, by which we arrive at truth ; which is the cardinal circumstance we have in view, in the pursuit of knowledge. Hence it appears, that man has, from nature, the capacity of improving his mind, by reflecting on what has passed in it ; and therefore he may be considered as having acquired from nature, the power of forming what is properly himself. The faculties of the mind, however, are not always exerted in individuals to the utmost extent of their power ; for they often lye dormant till prompted by necessity or curiosity ; but, when excited by either, they have been productive of inventions, policy, and all that may be comprehended under the denomination of knowledge. We are not, however, to measure the difficulty of invention, from the mean capacity of the great body of the people, but from the great genius and enlarged minds of
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the few who exist in every large and populous country. It is to such men we must ascribe the gradual introduction of a greater degree of correctness, polish, and elegance, which, in time, is bestowed on language, as well as to the several favourable circumstances mentioned above, all tending to the improvement of it.

29. From the histories given us of solitary families, or tribes, uniting in larger societies, and the junction, afterwards, of these into nations or kingdoms, we must infer, man, through a long succession of ages, to have improved almost insensibly from a state of nature to the most civilized condition of which he is capable. In like manner, we must suppose language to have improved with the same slow pace, always advancing with the civilization of the people, from a barbarous jargon to a polished style; but in every period of their history, sufficient for their state of improvement. Such, however, is the nature of language, that there will be in every original tongue nearly the same parts of speech,

50. ON THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

and formation of a natural grammar. In this, men are directed by a divine principle of reason, common to all, which may be denominated the common sense of mankind, capable, by the exercise of their external and internal senses, of conceiving objects, qualities, relations, and an accurate distinction of time, &c. which they express by certain arbitrary vocal sounds, called by grammarians *nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, &c.*

30. But as the capacities of men, in various regions of the earth, differ widely from one another, we may suppose the languages invented and spoken by different nations, to be more or less perfect and regular, according to the extent of the powers of the mind possessed by the inhabitants of each country. From the best information I have been able to receive from travellers, and from books, the more barbarous the people, the more imperfect is their language, unless where they have received their vernacular tongue, at some ancient period, from a more civilized

civilized nation. This, however, supposes a distinct language in different parts of the world ; and if it shall appear in the subsequent section, that there have been several generations of men, it will follow, of course, that there must have been invented as many original languages. Indeed, the arbitrary use, and according to the fancy of individuals, of articulate sounds, in conferring names on things, and in communicating thoughts, contradicts every idea of an universal language.

31. If the constitution of any language is examined with attention, by a person of thought and reflection, it will be found to be a work of art, in the formation of which, great ingenuity, as well as judgement, must have been employed. For the nice grammatical formation of a complete and regular language, from eight parts of speech, as in the Greek and Latin, and most of our modern tongues, must always impress us with an idea of its being the greatest, as well as the most useful art, to which

human knowledge can arrive : the attainment of it, however, must always appear to be a work of almost insuperable difficulty. But whoever seriously contemplates the very gradual progress of language for many centuries, before it acquires its utmost degree of perfection, will cease to wonder at the difficulty with which he at first supposed language to be so artfully framed. Like the division of labour in a complex manufacture, which no one man could execute, it is by degrees brought to perfection, by the united industry of many hands. But in the invention, gradual formation, and improvement of a language, how great must have been the division of labour ; how many ages must have passed from the first creation of man ; and how many millions must have succeeded one another, and, in every generation of them, several men of capacity and genius contributing each their mite towards the perfecting of their vernacular tongue ! In taking this just view of the slow progress of language, our idea of the great difficulty of its formation vanishes ; for the little that any individual

vidual might contribute towards the improvement of his vernacular tongue, would rather be a pleasure than a labour, as it would mark him for a man of discernment. This is somewhat more than conjecture ; for it is scarcely possible to conceive by what other means language could arrive at that degree of correctness and regularity in which it exists in several parts of the world where the art of writing is still unknown.

32. The analysis of language into its elemental sounds, and the invention of an alphabet, were certainly most ingenious works of art ; but the using this alphabet, or signs of the elemental sounds, in recording our thoughts, was, next to language, the greatest and most useful invention of man. This art of writing, or of making our thoughts visible, and which must have been coeval with the invention of the alphabet, would, when brought into practice, and become familiar to men of genius, contribute greatly to the improvement of language. It would be some considerable time

after this, before any one would think of applying himself to the collecting of the general rules that had been used in the formation of his language, and likewise of the exceptions to these rules, which long practice in speaking had established. But this first attempt at the formation of a grammar would, in after times, undergo many corrections and improvements, till we at last acquired the more complete grammars of the Greeks and Romans.

33. It is unnecessary to mention the great benefit language must have received from the labour of ingenious men of judgement in this way, in not only fixing a more correct style of speaking and writing, but in enabling us to acquire foreign tongues with more ease. But it was a scientific exhibition of the labour of thousands of years in the form of a grammar, and the analysis of language into its elemental founds by metaphysicians, that first created in us ideas of the immense difficulty of inventing a language. For, till these men wrote on grammar and style,

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no one ever thought of any difficulty in acquiring their vernacular tongue, which was attained by children with so much ease. But the subject of a grammar is of a nature so complex and multifarious, as to appear to men unaccustomed to such studies, to be almost incomprehensible, notwithstanding their having spoken the language of which it treats, for many years, without any great violation of grammar rules.

34. The truth is, that a vernacular tongue, with the grammar rules and exceptions to them, are learned in infancy and childhood by the ear : but children at first speak by general rules, saying, gooder and goodest, for better and best ; beautier and beautiest, for more beautiful and most beautiful, or for prettier and prettiest, &c. But it is by a slow, and almost imperceptible progress, that children come to use the several parts of speech with propriety. They begin their little prattle with the noun and the verb ; but, from their limited capacities, are unable to distinguish the times expressed by the several

tenfes and moods of the verb. From this imperfection of their intellect, and incapability of difcriminating by language, the paft, perfect, and future times, and far lefs any modification of them, they, for fome months after they begin to fpeak, ufe the verb only in the prefent tenfe of the indicative, and in the imperative. For they fay, Anne go, Anne play, Anne eat, Anne drink, Anne walk, not only to exprefs their defire of performing thefe actions, but likewise to fignify that they have performed them. In laying their commands on any one, they, with propriety, ufe the imperative, faying, go away, come along, give Anne, &c. ; and though they do not at firft ufe the adverbs, yet they are foon taught the practice of joining them to the verb : but the auxiliary verb, by the help of which all our Englifh tenfes are formed, the pronoun, the adjective, the adverb, the prepoſition, and other particles, are by them gradually brought into ufe. The memory and intellect, however, of children daily gain ſtrength, and in ſo perceptible a manner, as to make us remark, even in
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so short a space as at the end of every month, the progressive improvement of both, and likewise a proportionable advancement to a correct language. But this improvement in language comes on at last with so quick a pace, that well-bred children commonly speak soon after three years of age, with tolerable ease, and without much violation of grammar rules.

35. Indeed there are instances of men in all ages of the world, and particularly in those called the dark ages of the Christian æra, filling the several offices of the state with reputation, who could neither read nor write. So late as the fourteenth century, Du Gueslin, a private gentleman, by the natural strength of his genius, rose to be Constable of France, the highest office in the state. He was deservedly reckoned one of the greatest politicians and generals of his time in Europe: but the most astonishing circumstance of his character was, that he could neither read nor write. Alfred complained of the ignorance of the clergy in his time; but, in the reign of
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Henry the Fourth, there were bishops who could not sign the canons of the church, framed by the council of which they were members ; and Francis Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, was equally ignorant of letters. I mean not, by these instances of illiterateness in men of great natural abilities, to depreciate learning, which gives every one possessed of it so great a superiority over the unlearned ; but rather to show, that language, in good company, may be acquired in so perfect a manner, by the ear, as to answer most of the purposes of active life. For, through childhood and youth, language will, by imitation, be spoken according to the times and the society in which children are educated, even to a provincial dialect, or barbarous pronunciation of particular letters.

36. This is so natural to man, that although I freely assent to language being an art, yet there is in mankind such a strong propensity to acquire it, and the human intellect and organs are so wonderfully adapted for speech, that I cannot
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resist the supposition, that we are greatly assisted by nature in this acquisition. It is this ardent desire, implanted in us by nature, to communicate our thoughts, and to know the minds of others, that gives to children such a facility in acquiring language. Let any one turn over the Rudiments and Grammar, and think on the arduous task of recording, in his memory, all that is therein taught, to speak correctly, and then let him recollect the tender age of an infant, not three years of age, who practises most of what is contained in these books, and he will probably acquiesce in my supposition. Nature, by that strong tendency to imitation with which she endows us, seems to be a chief preceptress in the acquisition of language; for children are not capable of deep reasoning on the propriety of rules. Nay, after they have practised them for several years, it is no easy task to make them understand the grammar of their vernacular tongue, they having been taught their language chiefly by the ear. For, if moved to a foreign country before they can speak, they naturally acquire

acquire the language of that country, as they would have learned the vernacular tongue of their parents, had they remained with them.

37. The Honourable Daines Barrington, in his very accurate and ingenious paper on the singing of birds, * has favoured us with a curious and entertaining narrative 'on the education of these little songsters, in their wild and domesticated states. This most attentive ornithologist, in tracing the gradual progress of young birds in acquiring the song of the cock, in their wild state, begins with the chirp of the nestling for food, and says, that in about a month, they usually utter the call of their species, which they retain through life. That, in a few weeks after they have become master of the call, they begin to record. It is at first like the babbling of an infant, not intelligible; nor do they come to their full song till after ten or eleven months. For the first essay seems not
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* Philosoph. Transact. Vol. LXIII. p. 249.

to have the least resemblance to the future song ; but, as the bird grows older and stronger, one may begin to perceive what the nestling is aiming at. When birds, however, come to their full song, and can connect all the various passages in it without a pause, then they are said to sing their song round. Birds naturally attend to the song of the parent cock, which they record in their memory long before they come to their full song. For, if a bird, caught at five or six months old, be kept in an apartment where it cannot hear any bird of the same species, it will, notwithstanding, sing its natural song round, as soon as its organs have become sufficiently strong for that end. This astonishing retention of the notes of his species, and in the same order in which they were sung by the parent bird, must be kept up by recollection, and by a frequent singing of them internally. Similar to this, is what men and women practise in certain songs or passages in pieces of music, which their organs are incapable of executing.

38. Birds probably have a predilection in favour of the notes of the parent cock, from their vocal organs being perhaps better adapted to them than to those of any other species. But the song of every bird seems to be from imitation ; and Mr Barrington asserts, that notes in birds are no more innate, than language is in man ; and depend entirely upon the master under which they are bred, as far as their organs will enable them to imitate the sounds which they have frequent opportunities of hearing. In confirmation of this assertion, he relates some experiments of nestlings, brought up under the tuition of birds of a different species ; as, a linnet in a cage hung under or near to a vengolina from Africa ; other linnets under a sky-lark, wood-lark, or tit-lark ; a robin under a nightingale, and under a sky-lark ; a house-sparrow under a goldfinch, and under a linnet ; and a goldfinch, educated by accident under a wren in an adjoining garden. It appears that all these scholars sung correctly after the manner of their preceptors ; and were called vengolina linnet ; sky-lark,

sky-lark, wood-lark, and tit-lark linnets ; nightingale robin, sky-lark robin, goldfinch sparrow, linnet sparrow, wren goldfinch, &c.

39. These experiments show, that all singing birds have more or less the faculty of imitation ; and from this they sometimes mix certain notes or passages of the song of birds of a different species with their own, and in this way acquire what may be called a provincial dialect. As these additional notes sometimes improve, and at other times spoil the natural song of the bird ; so, the birdcatchers prefer Kentish goldfinches, and the chaffinches of Essex, &c. to those of other counties. It is farther remarked by Mr Barrington, that if nestlings are taken at two or three days old, and kept in an apartment where they cannot hear the notes of any bird, they will remain silent, or sing only what the birdcatchers call rubbish, having no similitude to the song of their species. This task of rearing a bird from the second or third day of its being hatched, is so extremely difficult, that

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our ingenious author knows but two instances where it succeeded. The one was the goldfinch wren, mentioned above; the other was a linnet belonging to Mr Mathews, apothecary at Kenfington, which had neither the notes nor the call of any bird whatever. But, from not hearing the song of any bird to imitate, it was taught to speak, and could say, pretty boy, and other short sentences.

40. From the above observations, on the gradual advancement of infants and children towards the acquisition of language; and on singing birds, in their acquiring the song of the parent cock; there appears, in the progress of both, a strong similitude to one another in several particulars. Infants have no innate ideas of language, nor birds of musical notes; but the former have an instinctive desire to utter articulate sounds, and the latter for the song of its preceptor. Infants acquire language, and birds the song of their species, by imitation; in which both are assisted by a musical ear, memory, and some

some degree of reflection. Infants who are deaf, remain dumb; making sometimes a disagreeable, inarticulate noise. Birds taken early from the nest, and kept where they cannot hear the song of any bird, continue silent, or sing imperfectly or disagreeably *. This comparison of the natural endowments of an infant, while in the condition of an animal, with those of a singing bird, the one for language, the other for the song of his species, and of the instinctive exertions of both to obtain these ends, affords a striking similarity. But this similitude of powers continues not long; for as soon as the bird, within the year, comes to sing his song round, his intellect becomes stationary, and is merely animal;

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* The unfortunate accident of some few boys and girls, after having been seized with a singular species of insanity, running off from their parents, and living in woods and wilds with the beasts of the forest, is a rare case. The circumstance, however, of their outliving the hardships of such a state, for any considerable time, is still more rare. But when those solitary savages have miraculously lived to an adult state, and been then caught, they have always been found without speech; from their not having heard the human voice for so many years.

mal ; whereas the intellect of the infant slowly but progressively continues to increase, till it acquires its full powers in manhood.

41. On a subject so obscure as the origin of language, and on which so little is to be learned from history or tradition, I have, as often as I could, in the prosecution of a labour so arduous, had recourse to nature as my surest guide. In this Section it is shown, that, in human speech, nature is the preceptress, by endowing infants with an instinctive desire to utter articulate sounds, before they can have any idea of language. After the ear is a little improved, she likewise prompts them, by an instinctive faculty, to the pronunciation of monosyllables, and words consisting of a repetition of the same syllable, as tata, papa, mama, &c. It is probably some time before they know the precise meaning of these words; for there must be a farther improvement of the ear and intellect, and of the vocal organs, from a constant exercise of them, before they can answer questions distinctly, and amuse us with their prattle.

prattle. The great advantage of the intellect, musical ear, and organs of speech in man, denied to the brutes, in facilitating language, has been remarked. The instinctive and insatiable curiosity after knowledge, and information in children and in men, may be also mentioned as a great promoter of language.

42. In tracing the intellect in infants, the chief agent in the acquisition of language, it was observed to exist early, from their knowledge of the expression of passions by natural signs; before they can speak, or understand the language of another. I have acknowledged language to be an art, as it is exhibited in a rudiments or grammar. But as all men speak grammatically, at least intelligibly, whether they have seen a grammar or not; and as the elemental sounds, and even the grammar rules of all languages, are nearly the same, these are strong presumptions, that nature operates powerfully in us, in the acquisition of language. This is confirmed by the observation, that the vernacular tongue

of every country, with the practical use of grammar rules, are learned in infancy and childhood by the ear.

43. Such is the nature of the human mind, that whatever is essential and indispensable to life, or the comfort of man, he easily comprehends, and as readily glides into the use and practice of it. But this comprehension is, with men of mean capacities, so faint and superficial, that they can give no reason for what they practise ; and if the reasons of their practice are minutely and scientifically explained to them, they are as much bewildered, as if they had been spoken to in Greek or Latin. How little can a vulgar and illiterate man understand of the metaphysical reasoning of a philosopher on liberty and necessity ? Yet he knows that he is free, which is for him sufficient ; and he avails himself of his freedom. It would be equally difficult to make such a man comprehend the reasons and propriety of the grammar rules of his language, which he has practised from his infancy with so much

much ease, and without seeming to bestow a thought on the subject. For language and grammar rules flow in so easily on children, and the task of learning the vernacular tongue is from day to day so minutely divided, that there can be no fatigue to the mind in acquiring it.

44. It is in this way I wish to reason, to take off the idea of the great difficulty with which philosophers suppose language to have been acquired. But notwithstanding the ease with which I have supposed every vernacular tongue to be obtained, and that no great difficulty in the progress of language could be affixed to any particular period; yet, for the reasons given in this Section, great length of time must have been requisite to improve and perfect any language. This I have ascribed chiefly to men of genius and discernment, who would naturally throw out of their vernacular tongue, such improprieties of expression as were dissonant to the approved rules adopted in speaking correctly. It is to such men, after the in-

vention of writing, that we are indebted for the first systematical exhibition of the formation of a language, and the rules established by long practice for the best style of speaking, under the title of a grammar. It has been remarked, that the introduction of grammar, which has been of such great service to language, did however create a false idea of an immense difficulty in the invention of it, which was certainly made easy by the almost infinite division of labour. From this short recapitulation of a few remarks in this Section, and by some additional observations, as well as from what has been formerly said on the origin and progress of language, I hope to have thrown some faint light on this difficult investigation. The non-existence of any universal language, and some other particulars relative to this subject, will fall naturally to be explained, when, in the following Section, we shall come to consider, what is extremely probable, the various creations of men.

ON THE
DIFFERENT RACES
OF
M E N.

P R E F A C E.

IN the subsequent Section, it is to facts and the accurate observations of voyagers and travellers I have chiefly confined myself, in proof of different creations of men. This is the plan which the late learned and ingenious Lord Kames * prosecuted, in treating the same subject. His facts are strong and conclusive as to the point he meant to establish ; and I have availed myself of several of them. Some apology is perhaps necessary for presuming to go over the same ground with so eminent an author ; but probably it will be found, that his Lordship did not exhaust the subject. The supposition of different creations of men is so consonant to the other works of Providence, which, in every part of the creation, delights in variety, that it is somewhat astonishing it has not

* Sketches of the History of Man, vol. I.

not hitherto gained more credit. Though it is known, that the discovery of truth, from the instruction it affords, and its other beneficial effects, gives so high a degree of enjoyment to the mind, yet it is insufficient to combat the prejudices of the ignorant. This, however, is of little consequence, provided my first intention is answered, of extending our knowledge of the wisdom and benevolence of the Author of nature to man, in his works of creation. It was this I had principally in view, in the preceding and subsequent Section, which are so mutually connected as reciprocally to illustrate each other.

It affords me a most singular satisfaction, that what I have said on the different generations of men, militates not, in the smallest degree, against the history given us by Moses of the progeny of Adam and Eve, from whom the Hebrews appear to have sprung. I know it is the general opinion, that Adam and Eve were the first parents of all the inhabitants of the earth.

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That they were the first progenitors of the Jewish race, appears from their history given us by Moses ; but he nowhere says, that the Gentiles, cotemporary with the family of Adam, were also descended from him. They appear to have been the aborigines of the country, of whose origin Moses is silent, though they were extremely numerous at the death of Abel, in several provinces of the East. Were we to adopt the opinion, that all mankind descended from Adam, then, according to the account given us by Moses, we must believe there were none of the human race alive when Seth was born, except Adam, Eve, and Cain ; for Abel left no issue. But when Cain was punished for the murder of his brother, and banished to the land of Nod, God put a mark on him, lest any should slay him ; and when arrived at the term of his banishment, he took a wife, built a city, and named it after his first born Enoch. But, on the supposition that none were in that country except Cain, who were to slay him ? It would be equally inconsistent to suppose, that Cain built a
city

city without considerable assistance, or that it would remain without inhabitants. These must have been the Gentiles, from whom Cain had taken his wife; for Eve had no daughter till after the birth of Seth. His distinguishing the city by a name, presupposes there were cities of other names in the country; as well as his going to the land of Nod shows there were distinct regions and nations at that time.

From the most obvious conclusions to be drawn from these premises, and other passages in the writings of Moses, it is not possible for us to adopt the common opinion of the first parents of the human race, without involving ourselves in the most palpable contradictions. It seems more consistent with reason to believe, that Moses did not, by Adam and Eve, mean the primogenial parents of all mankind: his real intention seems rather to have been, the history and descent of the original founders of the Hebrew and Jewish race, who disdained to be thought the offspring of the progenitors of the
common

common head of the Gentiles. They insisted on an origin more immediately from the Deity, that they might imprint a more peculiar character of dignity and holiness on themselves. The Jews, indeed, above all other men, conceived themselves to be a chosen race ; and, being peculiarly distinguished by their descent from Adam, they despised the Gentiles as a species scarcely human. From this pride of descent, and their being a chosen people for the service of God, they were led to be too severe in their treatment of all who were not of their nation. These were the Gentiles, whom they heartily despised and hated, calling them the sons of men, sinners, and beasts ; whilst they honoured themselves with the proud appellation of the sons of God, and the country wherein they lived with that of the holy land.

The observations here made, in regard to the Gentiles before the flood, are likewise applicable to their descendants, who lived after that catastrophe. This deluge, mentioned by Moses, is said by him, figuratively, to have covered the whole

whole earth ; that is, all that part of the country inhabited by the descendants of Adam, none of whom were saved, except Noah and his family in the ark. It being the history of Adam and his descendants, which Moses engaged to record ; and all of them having perished in the flood, with the exceptions just mentioned, the whole inhabitants of the earth, meaning the race of Adam, is said at that time to have died ; for the Gentiles, being with Moses of no account, are not mentioned. Those authors of reputation, who have made observations on the strata of the earth, are of an opinion, which is now universally received by all men who have studied nature, that the whole earth has, at some former period, and for many ages, been covered by the ocean. It is unnecessary, here, to give their proofs of this fact, from the petrification of fishes, shellfish, plants, sea and land animals, and even of men, found in the strata, all over the world, at various depths in the earth ; or to give their reasons for supposing this immersion of the earth to have taken place anterior to

to

to the time of the deluge, mentioned by Moses. It is sufficient for me, that it contradicts not the account given us of the flood by that divine legislator, which, from conversations I have had had with many pious persons, divines as well as laymen, is believed to have been partial. Indeed, several passages in the writings of Moses corroborate these suppositions ; for the account which he gives of the empire of Nimrod the son of Cush, and grandson of Ham *, and of the cities which he built, coincides with a time soon after the deluge, that there could not have been, according to the Mosaic account of the numbers born to the children of Noah, five hundred of his descendants in the world. It likewise appears from Scripture, that in the time of Abraham, Egypt was a great, civilized, populous, and luxurious kingdom, about three hundred and fifty years after the deluge ; when, it may be presumed, there were not two millions of Noah's race on the earth. It ought also to be observed,

* Genesis, chap. X. ver. 8. & 9.

observed, that Canaan, the promised land, the provinces of Aram, now known better by the name of Syria, Shinar or Mesopotamia, Armenia, the kingdom of Elam or Persia, and all the other countries of the East, then known, seem to have been at that time fully peopled. But from the strong repugnance which divines and pious men have had in all ages to throw the least discredit on what had crept in to be the general belief of mankind, these facts have been passed over, and, perhaps from an eagerness to support their doctrine, have been overlooked. No superstitious stricture, however, on the mind of a writer, ought to prevent him from a fair and candid representation of the truth, on a subject in which our happiness is so much concerned. Such a practice embraces the dangerous doctrine, that it may be sometimes useful to overlook or suppress the truth ; but such a plan of writing must subject our creed to objections, and introduce controversy, which ought always, with the utmost care and circumspection, to be avoided.

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Par. 45. IN the first part of the preceding Section, it was shown, that there exist, in various regions of the earth, languages so totally different, that they bear not the smallest resemblance to one another, or to those of what we call the Old Continent. Though the invention of numerous languages is a strong presumption of there having been different creations of men, yet there are many other proofs of this fact, which I shall proceed to consider. I enter, however, on this subject, with a painful reluctance, from a repugnance to offend those pious persons who are unwilling to believe more than Moses has given us relative to the origin of a particular

race of men, at a time when very little of the now known world had been explored. But I cannot perceive the least impiety in extending the power of God, which is unlimited, to the creation of several races of men, apparently different from one another, as well as to the creation of different animals of the same species, each particularly framed by nature for certain soils, climates, and modes of life.

46. This last remark is verified in numerous instances. For the rein-deer of Lapland, fitted for living on moss, and under the most intense cold, cannot exist in a temperate climate. The Arabian and Barbary horses degenerate in this country, which obliges us to send to their native soil for fresh supplies. Spanish horses degenerate in Mexico; but improve in Chili, where they acquire more vigour and swiftness than even the Andalusian race. The Brahmany cow, the common cow of India, the buffalo, and other varieties of the same species, can live and thrive only between the tropics, while the
breed

breed of the black cattle of Europe declines fast in these countries. The deserts of Zaara and Beledulgerid, in Africa, may be properly called the native countries of lions. There they are sometimes found nine feet long and five feet high. But lions in the south of Africa, towards the Cape of Good Hope, are scarcely above five feet and an half long, and three and a half high. It is thought that a breed of lions, transported from the latter to the former, would rise to the full size; and sink to the smaller size, if transplanted from the former to the latter. The ass, which is so diminutive and insignificant an animal in this country, as to be of little or no value, rises, in its native soil in Africa, to thirteen, fourteen, and even sometimes to fifteen hands in height, and is sold at a high price, for the breeding of mules. The same happens to the bulldog of England, so remarkable for his ferocity, capricious, cruel temper, and obstinate perseverance in his attack on men or animals, which degenerates so fast on the Continent, as to lose, in a few generations, much of that courage, and of those

those other horrid qualities which characterize so strongly his species in its native soil, Britain. Similar observations might be made, not only in regard to a great number of other animals, but likewise to the whole vegetable creation ; for every tree, shrub, or plant, is known to thrive best in a particular soil and climate, many of which it is impossible to rear, but in very warm, or in very cold regions.

47. Among the animals capable of being domesticated and brought under the dominion of man, the camel, on account of his great utility, merits our particular attention. Nature, who is perfect in all her works, has, from a singular formation and constitution of this animal, so accommodated him for a life of labour and abstinence, that the inhabitants surrounding the great deserts of Africa, Æthiopia, Arabia, and other regions of the East, look on him as the most precious gift of Heaven. The camel and dromedary (for this last is a variety of the same species) have their soles adapted to the burning sands they
are

are to pass over ; their toughness and spongy softness preventing them from cracking. Their great powers of sustaining an abstinence from drink, from a fifth stomach, which serves as a reservoir for water, enables them to pass unwatered tracts for several days, without requiring any liquid. Their patience, likewise, under hunger, is such, that they will travel many days fed only with a few dates, or some small balls of bean or barley meal, or on the dwarfish thorny plants they meet with in the deserts. This animal affords the Arabians a striking instance of the goodness of Providence, with which they seem strongly impressed ; for, without his assistance, they could neither subsist, carry on trade, nor travel. They eat the flesh of the camel ; but the milk of the female is their common food : it is richer, more nutritive, and she yields it longer than the cow. Of the hair of these camels, which is fine and soft, and is completely renewed every year, the Arabians make stuffs for clothes and for furniture. With their camels, they not only want nothing, but have

have nothing to fear. In one day, they can perform a journey of fifty leagues into the desert, which cuts off every approach of their enemies. All the armies of the world would perish in pursuit of a troop of Arabs. Every want of the Arabian is supplied by this animal : from the many advantages derived from him, it must be allowed that he is the most useful creature subjected to the service of man. Gold and silk constitute not the true riches of the East. The camel is the genuine treasure of Asia : he is more valuable than the elephant ; for he may be said to perform an equal quantity of labour, at a twentieth part of the expence. The camel is even, perhaps, equal in utility to the horse, the ass, and the ox, when their powers are united. He carries as much as two mules ; though he eats as little, and feeds upon herbs equally coarse with those that nourish the ass. Such of the works of the creation intended for the use of man, as we every day enjoy, or are daily exhibited to our view, strike us not so forcibly with ideas of the power and goodness of Omnipotence,

Omnipotence, as others less familiar. This is strongly exemplified in the camel, which can only exist in the full enjoyment of his powers in certain climates; and from whose astonishing qualities a communication with distant countries, over burning sands, is kept up, which, without his aid, would be impracticable; or attended with so much toil and danger, as to be of little use.

48. Were it not for the disagreeable circumstance of being obliged to combat the prejudices adopted by men in early youth, it would not be difficult to set in as clear a light the wisdom and benevolence of the Author of Nature, in adapting the constitutions of the various races of men to different climates, as we see them displayed in the creation of animals. What is equally demonstrative of the parental care of Providence, is the ample provision of such fruits, and other vegetable productions within the tropics, as are, by nature, calculated for the climate and constitution of the inhabitants. If we carry our observations

observations on the productions of the earth, to the south or north of the tropics, it will be found, that both animals and vegetables vary in their nature and qualities as we advance to either pole, but are particularly suited to the climate, constitution, and wants of the natives. In our progress northward, the tropical fruits, plants, and animals, gradually degenerate, till they at last vanish, and give place to those of Europe, as better suited to the people in that quarter of the world. The constitutions and habits of life in the northern nations, requiring their diet to consist of a larger proportion of meat, and of fewer vegetables, than is used in warm climates, Nature, with a most benevolent hand, accommodates herself to their wants. For in these countries, animals fit for the food and clothing of man, increase in number ; but vegetable productions, unless for the food of cattle, decrease in quantity, till we come to Nova Zembla, or the coast of the Frozen Ocean, where the inhabitants live on fish, flesh of seals, elks, and other animals, with scarcely any bread or vegetables.

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The natural desire of men for a larger proportion of meat, as we advance to the northern nations, has a tendency to render the blood warmer, and the bodies of men more capable of resisting the effects of cold, to which their habitual exercise in hunting and fishing also contributes. The good effects, however, of this diet, will be more particularly seen, when we come to treat of the standard point of heat of the human body, which, for the preservation of health and life, must be the same in all climates and seasons.

49. In prosecuting this subject, on the different creations of men, I most humbly submit myself to impartial, dispassionate men of judgment ; but not to the criticism of those whose prejudices are so rivetted, as to make them reject every evidence that militates against their preconceived notions, and who constantly shield themselves under mere conjecture and supposition. The migrations of the descendants of Noah to distant countries, is supposed to have taken

taken place at a very early period, and long before we could have any distinct history of them. When the countries of the East came to be overstocked with inhabitants, it is natural to suppose, that the want of pasturage and of food would create civil dissensions and wars, and, to avoid these inconveniences, occasion the removal of certain tribes or nations to some distance, sufficient to prevent any clashing of interests with their former neighbours. But as these migrations must have taken place by slow degrees, the original language, if any such ever existed, should have been preserved. To obviate, however, this objection, to the opinion generally received, antiquaries have given such a migrating spirit to the descendants of the patriarchs, as must have carried them forward to the utmost limits of the earth, where it is supposed they lost their language, and all remembrance of the native country of their forefathers.

50. But, without a miracle, this is now known to be impossible: for how can any unprejudiced

prejudiced person suppose the Society Islands, and many others lately discovered in the South Sea, to have been inhabited from any part of the Old Continent? It is highly probable, that the late discoverers of these islands were the first Europeans that ever touched at them, or were seen by the natives. Their situation, some thousand leagues from any European or Asiatic settlement, and the natives of each of these islands differing not only from one another in their external appearance, disposition, and language, but from the rest of mankind; these, with the ignorance of the ancients in the art of navigation, all militate against the opinion, that the original inhabitants emigrated from the Old Continent. Besides, there is no history or tradition of any country being found by people migrating, without inhabitants, perhaps, equally ancient in their origin with themselves, and speaking a different language. Though this last fact is of itself sufficient to invalidate any supposition that might be brought in favour of the commonly received opinion, that the whole inhabitants of this earth are descended from one man and woman; yet,

to illustrate this subject, a farther examination of it may be proper.

51. In the early ages of the world, and before commerce with distant countries came to be a desirable object among men, remote regions were little known to the inhabitants of any particular kingdom or commonwealth. But we must suppose trade, or an exchange of commodities, to have taken place between neighbouring, and sometimes distant, nations or kingdoms, long before the most ancient histories, or even tradition, has taken any notice of it. The mention of pearls in several parts of the Scripture, and cinnamon * by Moses, shows that some communication, before his time, must have existed between India, the Gulf of Persia, and Judea. This was probably carried on by the Euphrates, and a city in the desert, afterwards known by the name of Tadmour, given it by Solomon, signifying the place of palm trees ; for it got not the name of Palmyra till after the time of

* Exodus, chap. xxx. verse 23.

of Alexander the Great. The journies of Abraham and Jacob from Mesopotamia into Syria, sufficiently show an intercourse between these countries, and make it probable, that this city of communication between India and the western kingdoms of Asia, existed in their time. By what name it then went, or what was the extent of its trade to India, till the time of Solomon, is uncertain. This commercial prince is said, by Josephus, to have strengthened Tadmour with strong walls, to secure the possession of it; and it is certain, that he made it a deposit for Indian, and other foreign goods, brought from the Gulf of Persia by way of the Euphrates. After this time, it continued to be an emporium for Indian commodities, till it probably was destroyed by the Turks or Arabians, after they got possession of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire *.. Soon after the destruction of this fa-

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mous

* The magnificent ruins of Palmyra exhibit the remains of superb palaces and temples; but the entire and broken columns, being all of the Corinthian order, show them to have

mous city, other routes were adopted for the dispersion of Indian commodities all over the western parts of Asia, which are used to this day. These were up the Euphrates, to the city of Bir in Diarbeck, anciently Mesopotamia, about seventy miles from Aleppo. Sometimes they

have been built after the time of Augustus; for it was not till after that period, that this elegant style of architecture came to be preferred. Antoninus Pius, who died A. D. 161, is said to have built a temple at Balbeck, or Heliopolis; and Dioclesian, who resigned the imperial dignity about 306, erected another at Palmyra, both of the Corinthian order. These cities, particularly Palmyra, seem to have been in the highest degree of splendid prosperity when this last was conquered, and Zenobia, its Queen, led captive to Rome by Aurelian, in the third century. Messrs Dackins and Wood, in the account they have given, with engravings, of the ruins of Palmyra, distinguish two kinds of ruins, one of which must be ascribed to very remote ages, and are only rude unshapen masses, while the others just mentioned are the work of more modern times. For a farther information, see the elegant treatise of these gentlemen on this curious and interesting subject, and likewise Travels through Syria and Egypt, by M. C. T. Volney. London, 1787: Vol. II. p. 288.

they went farther up the Euphrates, then overland to Trapezium, on the south side of the Euxine Sea, and across that sea to the ancient port of Theodosia, (now Caffa, in the Chersonesus or Crim Tartary); also from Trapezium, along the south shore of the Euxine Sea, to Constantinople.

52. Before the reign of David, the Hebrews applied not to maritime affairs: but, after that prince made a conquest of Idumæa, and thereby became master of two seaport towns, Elath and Eziongaber, he there began his commerce with the Gulf of Persia. Besides the channel of trade carried on by Solomon up the Euphrates, till within three days journey of Tadmour in the desert, he and his successors, who were possessed of Idumæa, still carried on their commercial voyages to Tarshish, Ophir, and other parts of the East, continuing to use Eziongaber as a port, even to the time of Jehoshaphat. There have been much doubt and controversy, relative to the situation of these two places; but Mr Bruce,

the late celebrated Abyſſinian traveller, has diſplayed much learning and ingenuity in ſettling theſe diſputes. He has, to the ſatisfaction of moſt of his readers, ſettled Tarſhiſh to be not far from Mocha, but nearer Melinda, in the Indian Ocean ; and Ophir, from whence Solomon imported ſuch large quantities of the precious metals, particularly ſilver, to be Sofala, a kingdom of Africa, on the coaſt of Moſambique, near Zanguebar. His reaſons are ſo concluſive, that there now remains little doubt of the real ſituation of Tarſhiſh ; and that Sofala was the real Ophir, to which Solomon ſent his ſhips from Eziongaber for gold, ſilver, ivory, &c. which took up a voyage of three years.

53. Long before the reign of David, there was a commercial intercourſe between the inhabitants of the weſtern kingdoms of Aſia, eſpecially the Phœnicians, or people of Tyre, and the countries bordering on the Red Sea, the Gulf of Perſia, and all the maritime places, as far as the Indian Ocean. It was not, however, till
long

long after this, when trade became universally a more desirable object among nations, that merchants found a way by the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and the river Oxus, and from thence by land, to India. In their return from Lahor, on the Ravione, one of the branches of the Indus, to the western parts of Asia, and to Europe, nearly the same route was observed : for, after a land-carriage to where the Oxus becomes navigable, they proceeded to the Caspian Sea ; then up the river Cyrus, to its nearest approach to a navigable part of the Phasis *, where they had another land-carriage of five days ; and this last river disemboguing itself into the Euxine, near Colchis, the Indian goods could be carried from thence by water, all over the world. But it was many ages before the western kingdoms had any distinct idea of the extent and geography of that country, or historical account of its inhabitants. The merchants and mariners saw little more than the ports or towns with which they carried on their traffic, till some Egyptian, and afterwards Grecian

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* The Phasis becomes navigable at the town Sarapana,

cian philosophers, travelled to India in quest of knowledge. In these early ages, we hear not of any considerable migrations to India, or to any other part of the world. But, whatever knowledge these more western kingdoms might have had of India, or of the Scythian nations, it is certain they were entirely ignorant of a great part of the western, and of all the southern coast of Africa, except what they may have discovered in their voyages to Tarshish, and the golden Sofala or Ophir, till after a way was discovered to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Not only the numerous islands lying in that immense tract of sea, but many in the Indian Ocean, and all those in the South Sea, were unknown to them.

54. It appears from the sacred scriptures, that the inhabitants of Judea, and probably of many other kingdoms in the East, were not unacquainted with the Arabs, the Abyssinians, Negroes, and perhaps other nations of Africa ; but seem not to have had much intercourse with them

them in the way of trade. It was not till the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, and afterwards the Romans, penetrated some little way into that country, on account of commerce, or of conquest, that they came to have a more distinct information relative to several African tribes, or nations, differing in their external appearance, language, and habits. But our knowledge, in these respects, was greatly extended, after Vasquez de Gama, in the year 1498, found his way to India by the Cape of Good Hope. The many voyages that have been since made by every mercantile state in Europe, particularly the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French, have confirmed many facts relative to the history of different nations unknown to the ancients.

55. It now appears, from the most accurate observations of voyagers and travellers, by their trading, conversing, and sometimes residing for considerable periods of time with the natives, that there are on the coasts, and interior parts of Africa, in the adjacent islands, and in those of India,

India, distinct races of men speaking different languages, with capacities, dispositions, talents, and habits, extremely different from one another. The tempers and dispositions of many of these nations are so widely different, as not only to confer on them a national character, but go a great way in fixing a distinction of races, independent of their figure, features, hair, complexion, or language. The country, on one side of the river Senegal, is inhabited by a race of woolly-headed blacks, with flat noses and thick lips, apparently stout, but clumsily made. On the other side, however, of that river, is a race of the same complexion, but with long hair, with well shaped high noses, and thin lips. The females of these last are said to be the most elegantly formed women in Africa, and perhaps equal to any model that could be produced in Europe, with fine features, and sprightly. The men are likewise well made, and tall, but rather too slender to impress us with an idea of great strength. These are endowed with better dispositions, and are less vindictive, than the woolly-headed blacks,

blacks. Other examples of a similar nature, I shall have occasion to notice in the sequel.

56. The debilitating effects of the heat between the tropics on European constitutions, are apt to make us imagine, that the inhabitants of these climates are weak, incapable of much fatigue, and pusillanimous ; but, in many instances, the contrary is the fact. The black inhabitants of Malacca and the neighbouring isles ; the negroes living in the kingdom of Senaar, and in other the hottest places of Africa ; the wild Arabs, and the natives of New Holland, both these last of a swarthy or olive colour, and the inhabitants of Otaheite of a European complexion, are all bold, intrepid, and courageous in war, and are likewise capable of great bodily fatigue. This proves that their bodies are suited to the climates they inhabit, and likewise, that their colour is not altogether owing to the heat of those countries, but to an original constitution, on which the variation of climate, though continued for many generations, produces

ces not the smallest alteration. There are many instances of races of people preserving their original colour, in climates very different from their own ; and not a single instance to the contrary. The Moors in Hindostan have retained their natural colour, after a residence in that country of more than three centuries. Though the Mogul family have reigned in Hindostan above four centuries, yet both their descendants, and those of the chieftains who accompanied them in their conquest, remain to this day fair like their ancestors the Tartars. The people called *Gypsies*, who have resided in every country of Europe, and in several provinces of Africa and Asia since about the middle of the fifteenth century, preserve the same swarthy complexion with their supposed ancestors the Pariers or Coolies of Hindostan *. The same observations may be made on the Jews, in every part of the commercial world, even to those who live in the suburbs of Cochin, a Dutch settlement on the coast of Malabar, and who

* Vide the Appendix, No. 7. to the Treatise on Literature, &c.

who assert that their progenitors settled there during the Babylonish captivity. Shaw, in his travels through Barbary, mentions a people inhabiting the mountains of Aures, bordering upon Algiers on the south, who appeared to be of a different race from the Moors. Their complexion, far from swarthy, is fair and ruddy, and their hair a deep yellow. He supposes them to be a remnant of the Vandals, perhaps the tribe mentioned by Procopius, in his First Book of the Vandalic war * †. Lord Kaimes's observation on this passage in Shaw, is, that if the European complexion be proof against a hot climate for a thousand years, it will never yield to climate.

57.

* London, 1757, page 59.

† Gibbons, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, makes the following remarks on this curious passage in Procopius: ‘ The name and situation of
‘ this unhappy people might indicate their descent from one
‘ common stock with the conquerors of Africa. But the
‘ use of a Slavonian dialect more clearly represents them
‘ as the last remnant of the new colonies who succeeded to
‘ the genuine Vandals, already scattered or destroyed in
‘ the age of Procopius. Vol. IV. p. 155.

57. That the negroes are of a distinct race, is evident, from their progeny being a mongrel species, when they cohabit with people of a different nation and complexion; and most certain it is, that the *fœtus in utero*, which is born of a reddish colour, and turns black in a few weeks, owes not its complexion to the influence of the sun. These remarks relative to mulattoes, are not peculiar to blacks; for they take place between other races, whatever may be their complexion. I have seen the children of a European woman by a Tartar, and of a Chinese woman by a gentleman of this country, and in both cases the mixed breed was most conspicuous: the former took after the father, the latter after the mother. Like observations may be made in every part of the world where conquest or commerce have brought together distant nations who intermarry.

58. Lady Wortley Montague, when at Constantinople, in her usual pleasant manner, and with an uncommon and happy talent for description,

tion, fays, ‘ My paper, large as it is, draws to-
‘ wards an end. That I may not go beyond its
‘ limits, I must leap from religions to tulips,
‘ concerning which you ask me news. Their
‘ mixtures produce surprising effects. But what
‘ is to be observed most surprising, are the expe-
‘ riments of which you speak concerning ani-
‘ mals, and which are tried here every day.
‘ The suburbs of Pera, Jophana, and Galata,
‘ are collections of strangers from all countries
‘ of the universe. They have so often inter-
‘ married, that this forms several races of people
‘ the oddest imaginable. There is not one sin-
‘ gle family of natives that can value itself on
‘ being unmixed. You frequently see a person
‘ whose father was born a Grecian, the mother
‘ an Italian, the grandfather a Frenchman, the
‘ grandmother an Arminian, and their ancestors
‘ English, Muscovites, Asiatics, &c.

59. ‘ This mixture produces creatures more
‘ extraordinary than you can imagine; nor could
‘ I ever doubt but there were several different
‘ species

‘ species of men ; since the whites, the woolly,
‘ and the long-haired blacks, the small-eyed Tar-
‘ tars and Chinese, the beardless Brazilians, and
‘ (to name no more) the oily-skinned yellow
‘ Nova Zemblians, have as specific differences,
‘ under the same general kind, as greyhounds,
‘ mastiffs, spaniels, bull-dogs, or the race of
‘ my little Diana, if nobody is offended at the
‘ comparison. Now, as the various intermixing
‘ of these latter animals produce mongrels : so,
‘ mankind have their mongrels too, divided and
‘ subdivided into endless sorts. We have daily
‘ proofs of it here, as I told you before. In the
‘ same animal is not seldom remarked, the Greek
‘ perfidiousness, the Italian diffidence, the Spa-
‘ nish arrogance, the French loquacity ; and all
‘ of a sudden he is seized with a fit of English
‘ thoughtfulness, bordering a little upon dulness,
‘ which many of us have inherited from the stu-
‘ pidity of our Saxon progenitors. But the fa-
‘ mily which charms me most, is that which
‘ proceeds from the fantastical conjunction of a
‘ Dutch male with a Greek female. As these
‘ are

‘ are natures opposite in the extremes, it is a
‘ pleasure to observe how the different atoms
‘ are perpetually jarring together in the children,
‘ even so as to produce effects visible in their
‘ external form. They have the large black
‘ eyes of the country, with the fat white fishy
‘ flesh of Holland, and a lively air streaked with
‘ dulness. At one and the same time they show
‘ that love of expensiveness so universal among
‘ the Greeks, and an inclination to the Dutch
‘ frugality. To give an example of this, young
‘ women ruin themselves to purchase jewels for
‘ adorning their heads, while they have not the
‘ heart to buy new shoes, or rather slippers, for
‘ their feet, which are commonly in a tattered
‘ condition ; a thing so contrary to the taste of
‘ our English women, that it is for shewing how
‘ neatly their feet are dressed, and for showing
‘ this only, they are so passionately enamoured
‘ with their hoop petticoats. I have abundance
‘ of other singularities to communicate to you ;
‘ but I am at the end both of my French and
‘ my paper. ’

60. But when no such marriages have taken place, it will be seen, that tribes and nations of different kinds have the individuals of each kind remarkably uniform, and differing no less remarkably from the individuals of every other kind. Uniformity, without variation, is the offspring of Nature, never of chance, or of any external circumstance; and this is incontestably proved by different races of men living adjacent to one another, exposed to the influence of the same climate, soil, diet, and habits of life; as on the banks of the river Senegal. The black nipple of the Samoides shews them to be a distinct race, and in an opposite climate. We must pronounce the same in regard to the Hottentots. The remarkable prominence of the pudenda in the females, and their particular complexion, are not the only circumstances which distinguish them from the Caffres, living under the same climate. In confirmation of these observations, that the heat of the climate is not the cause of the black colour of men, it may be farther remarked, that the Abyssinians,

byssinians, who live in as hot a climate as many of the negroes, are of an olive colour; and the women, in the southernmost parts of China, have a very fair complexion.

61. It seems extremely probable that there have been in America several creations of men, for the same wise and benevolent purpose that the Author of Nature has exhibited in the different races of men in Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world. Though this fact should be questioned, yet there cannot remain the least doubt in regard to certain animals peculiar to America; for I know not that any of the quadrupeds within the tropics, in either hemisphere, are common to both. The lama, or South American camel sheep bearing wool, the only animal used by the Indians as a beast of burden, but not capable of carrying more than from fifty to seventy-five pounds weight, is a particular species of the pecora, not to be found, as a native, in any other part of the globe. The pacas, or sheep of Chili, of a less size than the

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former,

former, clothed with a fine wool, inclining to a rose colour on the back and sides, becoming less tinged, till it ends in a white on the belly and interior parts of the thighs, is likewise peculiar to that country. The Unca Gaguair of Buffon, or American tyger; the Concoloror Puma; the Discolor, or black tyger; the Pardalis, or Mexican panther, and some other ravenous animals, are indigenous in the warm climates of America; for they are nowhere else to be found*. If, therefore, there has been a local creation of those and other animals in America, which appears incontestible, it is a strong presumption that there may have been likewise a creation of men in that country distinct from the rest of the world.

62. This supposition receives additional strength from certain characteristic marks peculiar

* These carnivorous beasts, so distinct from the lion, tiger, leopard, and other ravenous animals of the ancient Continent, have neither their size, strength, courage, or ferocity; for, compared to the similar quadrupeds of this quarter of the globe, they are of an inferior race.

liar to the whole of the Americans, and which distinguish them from the rest of mankind. These are, their copper colour complexion, their black eye-lashes, eye-brows, and hair of their head, which is long, lank and coarse; small forehead, covered with hair on the temples to the middle of the eye-brows; small dark coloured or black eyes; the countenance broad and roundish, being farther removed from an oval shape than that perhaps of any other race of men; ears large, the extremities of which are far removed from the face. Their persons are of a full size, straight, and well proportioned; more remarkable for agility than strength; with small feet. The few hairs on the chin of the men, deserve not the name of a beard. They are equally thin in the axillæ and on the pudenda, without a vestige of a hair on the rest of their body *. At the first view of a Southern American, he appears to be mild and innocent; but on a more attentive examination, something

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wild,

* Don Antonia Ulloa, Noticias Americanas, p. 307.

wild, distrustful, and fullen, is discovered in his countenance. There is such a similarity of figure, complexion, and features, among the American Indians, from the most northern limits of Canada to the Straights of Magellan, that travellers who have visited most of the countries of that great continent, say, that any one Indian presents to our view an exact prototype of the whole race, with some exceptions as to their size, particularly in the Patagonians.

63. But the exterior figure of the American Indians is not more peculiar to their race, than their internal dispositions and habits, accompanied with a remarkably limited understanding. But there has been found, in certain districts, an obvious difference in the extent of their capacities, and degree of improvement. The introduction of a civil policy into the empires of Mexico and Peru, and the arts to which the inhabitants had arrived, shewed to what a degree of civilization the most savage people may be brought, when united
in

in societies under something like a regular monarchy. But notwithstanding the panegyrics given us of their government, their police, and their arts, by some authors enamoured with the simplicity of savage life, they were still, on the arrival of the Spaniards, a rude and barbarous people, and perhaps by nature incapable of ever attaining to any great degree of science or philosophical inquiry. After the experience of three centuries, with the society and conversation of many ingenious Europeans, the use of letters, and ample opportunities of contemplating the machinery and workmanship of European artists, I have never learned that an Indian has ever excelled, even as a copyist, far less as an inventor. The prohibition of Spain to carry on any manufacture in South America, and the slavish dependence in which the natives are held by the Spaniards, may, in some degree, account for their slow progress in arts, but is not on this head altogether satisfactory. For the other Indian nations, who are

under no such restrictions, and who hold themselves to be free, and independent of any European power, are in no better condition, in regard to arts and manufactures; but traffic with the English and French for such articles as are wanted for clothing, hunting, or for war.

64. The mean opinion which the Spaniards at first conceived of the intellectual powers of the Americans, prevented every idea of such a government among them, as might be capable of obstructing the progress of their arms. But on the information and discovery of the empire of Montezuma, they were seized with astonishment at the appearance of even so feeble a government, populous indeed, but not sufficient to oppose an handful of Europeans. The advancement which the Spaniards made in their conquest of Mexico and Peru, was protracted more by a jealousy and opposition of interests in the principal officers for power, than from the efforts of the natives. But in the accounts sent by the
the

the general officers to the Court of Spain, there was a strong propensity to heighten the glory and success of the Spanish arms, under their command, by exaggerating every struggle and difficulty they had to encounter. For, notwithstanding the vast extent of the empires of Mexico and Peru, with millions of inhabitants, and many thousands in arms, they, from the inferiority of their capacity, as well as from their inadequate manner of carrying on war, could not make any effectual resistance to the consummate address, artifice, treachery, courage, and discipline of the Spaniards. These circumstances are briefly mentioned, in confirmation of the assertions of the discoverers of America, and of the conquerors of that country, for many years after, of the very limited understanding of their new subjects the Indians. For it is evident how low they must have been in the estimation of mankind, when it required the famous Bull of Paul the Third in the 1537, declaring that it was the pleasure of the Pope, and of the Holy Ghost, to

to consider the Americans to be of the human species. * †

65. From the mean capacities of the Americans, we have a very imperfect tradition of their ancestry. We learn from them, that in Mexico, Mounitezuma was the ninth sovereign, from the commencement of their monarchy, which had not existed, by their accounts, above one hundred and thirty years, though, from the estimation of the lives of the monarchs in Europe, it should have been about a hundred and ninety years. A similar account is given of the empire of Peru ; for Atahualpa, said to be an usurper, the immediate successor of Huanca Capac, of the
royal

* Sketches, Hist. of Man, Lord Kaimes.—Torquemada, lib. XVI. chap. 25.—And Garcia Orig, p. 311.

† Though this presumptuous and wicked style of an impudent Bishop of Rome, is now more a subject of laughter, than of criticism ; yet it is astonishing, notwithstanding the ignorance and superstition of the times, that this ridiculous Bull should have produced any effect towards settling the point in dispute, which it probably did.

royal line, was only the thirteenth Inca from Manco Capac, their first monarch, priest, and supreme judge, whose territories did not at first exceed eight leagues. From this account, the period of their monarchy, from Manco Capac to the invasion of Pizarro, could not exceed two hundred and forty, or two hundred and fifty years ; and if we allow them any degree of invention previous to the commencement of their monarchy, there is no room for admiring the progress of their arts.

66. These consisted chiefly in spinning and weaving a species of coarse cloth ; in moulding vessels of clay, and drying them in the sun ; in fabricating their weapons for war, or for the chase ; in smelting, in an imperfect manner, gold, silver, and copper, from their ores ; and in a clumsy species of foundry with the precious metals, and with copper ; but they knew not there was such a metal as iron. The Mexicans, in the art of government, in war, in symbolical or picture writing, and in expressing

expressing numbers by knots of different colours on thread, are said to have excelled the Peruvians, and, of course, the rest of America. Allowing this account of these two empires to be true, it corresponds not with that degree of improvement which might have been expected from nations said to have possessed no small degree of ingenuity and enterprize. For although they went beyond the other independent tribes in some arts, and in policy, this must be ascribed partly to the institution of civil government, which prescribed laws and rules for the regulation of their conduct, and granted protection from injuries. They are said likewise to have been, by nature, more ingenious, than the independent tribes with which they were surrounded, from a superiority of capacity to them, and more particularly to the Indians living at a greater distance to the south and north of them. All this I believe to be true; but still it must be acknowledged, that the most impartial writers on the American conquest agree, that their policy, their art of war, their arts of peace, and

and even their intellectual powers, were all of an inferior kind to those of the least civilized nation on the ancient continent.

67. The famine which the Spaniards are said to have occasioned in most places where they carried their arms, sufficiently demonstrates, that the accounts, given by some writers, of the high cultivation and populousness of the empires of Mexico and Peru, are much exaggerated. The Spanish army, which seldom exceeded five hundred men, and sometimes not above half that number, being frequently put to the utmost distress for want of provisions, evidently contradicts the fact. The barbarism and gross ignorance, of not only the American Indians in general, but of the inhabitants of both their boasted empires of Mexico and Peru, may be justly inferred from the plough being unknown to them, and from their having no coined money, nor any other means of carrying on commerce, than by bartering one commodity for another. From their ignorance of iron, the most useful of all metals, a sort of wooden spade was their principal instrument

strument in agriculture; sharp stones served them for knives and hatchets; fish-bones for needles; their sewing thread was made of the finews of certain animals; and these seem to be the principal instruments by which they carried on several species of work. This true representation of the low state of their arts, shows their great want of genius, and of the powers of invention. But the strongest proof that can be given of what I have here alleged, is, that the whole of the ancient arts of Mexico and Peru have not furnished one single manufacture to Europe.

68. The incapability of the Americans to attain to any tolerable knowledge of accounts, or calculations of the simplest kind, shows an imbecility of mind uncommon in any race of men living for such a length of time in the neighbourhood of civilized nations. Some individuals among the Six Nations, and others living in the neighbourhood of the European settlements, with whom they traffic, can number

as far as ten, twenty, or even to a hundred ; and it is said, that a few of the more intelligent can carry on an account to a thousand. But it is remarked, that those Indians living more remote from the Europeans, and nearly in their original state, are in their memory exceedingly defective. The Yameas, a tribe on the river Oroonoko, described by Condamine, use the word *pocitarraroincouroac* to express the number three. They have no word for a greater number ; and the Brazilian language is nearly as barren. Such a deficiency of memory prevails among the Indians, that they have not the least talent for traditional history, which leaves us extremely ignorant as to their origin ; for they can relate but imperfectly, the transactions of their own times. They are, perhaps, the most improvident people on earth against future contingencies, which subjects them often to want, and to the inclemency of the seasons. It is confidently asserted by travellers, that the natives of California, several of the small nations in the extensive country of Paraguay, some of the people on the banks of the Oroonoko, and on the river of St Magdalen,

Magdalen, are little removed from the brute creation ; they acting more from an animal instinct, than from reason and reflection. Indeed, necessity, the mother of invention, seems to have had very little power over the Americans ; for the most cultivated nations among them were strangers to many of those simple arts which were almost coeval with society in other parts of the world, and were known in the earliest periods of civil life with which we have any acquaintance. The extreme ignorance of the Americans, unless in hunting, fishing, and in war, is accompanied by an apathy of the mind, and sluggishness in their motions, most unfavourable for invention ; and renders them not only averse, but incapable of regular labour, which they consider as unbecoming their dignity. There is not, of course, practised among them any mechanical art, for barter or for sale ; and the whole of their domestic labour is carried on by the women, whom they treat with brutal coldness and indifference.

69. This insensibility to the powers of love, and the want of that conjugal affection, in which consists the greatest happiness and joy of other nations, characterise these savages as distinctly as any other particular in their history. The extreme frigidity in the constitutions of the Americans to the strongest instinct of nature, destined for the continuation of the species, as a bond of social union between the sexes, and a source of the most tender and affectionate love, is thought to be owing to an original imbecility of constitution in the Indians. This amazing indifference to the most ardent of the animal passions, is not peculiar to the males, but common to both sexes ; for the women are equally strangers to the force and ardour with which this first instinct of nature exists in other habitable parts of the earth. The learned Dr Robertson, in his History of America, observes, that ‘ mission-
‘ aries themselves, notwithstanding the austerity
‘ of monastic ideas, cannot refrain from express-
‘ ing their astonishment at the dispassionate cold-
‘ ness of the American young men, in their in-
VOL. I. I ‘ intercourse

‘tercourfe with the other fex *.’ From all which, it feems extremely probable, that the natives of America are, among the human fpecies, an inferior order, defective in the vigour of their bodily frame, and deftitute of fenfibility, as well as force, in the operations of their mind.

70. As to the Efquimeaux, living in the moft northern habitable parts of America, they cannot, with any propriety, be called American Indians, being evidently of the fame race with the Greenlanders, and fpeaking their language. Their progenitors muft certainly have migrated from Greenland, which probably is part of the continent of North America. They feem, with the Greenlanders, a diftinct race, and their tongue is original ; for it differs from all the languages in Europe, and perhaps in the world. It may feem ftrange, that the Efquimeaux found on the coaft of Labrador, ever fince the difcovery of that part of the world, and who were
probably,

* Fifth edition, 8vo. London, 1788. Vol. II. p. 85.

probably, for many centuries before, inhabitants of that country, should never have migrated farther south than their present inhospitable region. But the similarity of their present possessions to Greenland, the country of their patriarchs, and its affording equal advantages for fishing and seal catching, has rivetted them to their favourite climate, to which they seem by nature destined. But as it is not my intention to advance farther in the history of any particular tribe or nation, than merely to establish the existence of distinct races of men, so I shall proceed to consider other parts of my proof.

71. Another argument, of considerable force, in proof of numerous and distinct races of men, may be drawn from the necessity of different constitutions for obviating the effects of heat and of cold in different climates. For, from the commencement of animal life, there is, from certain operations in the œconomy, a constant generation of heat; whilst, from others, and our living in a medium below the temperature

of our bodies, there is a continual consumption of it. But it appears to be a law in the human system, that a certain standard point of heat, from 96 to 98 of Fahrenheit, must be maintained in it, by which the power of the living principle is chiefly supported. Experience has shown us, on the other hand, that the living principle possesses a power of resisting the effects of heat and of cold to a certain degree : but when the body becomes a few degrees warmer or colder than its natural standard, the principle of life is proportionably weakened ; and if this increase or abatement of heat goes on a little farther, life is totally extinguished. Hence it follows, that a certain degree of heat must be coeval with the living principle, which it endeavours to adjust with great precision ; the extent of its powers depending, in a great measure, on this exact regulation of heat.

72. This standard point in the human body being the same in all climates, it is reasonable to suppose, that the constitution of the Nova Zem-
bians,

blians, for resisting the effects of cold, must be very different from that possessed by the inhabitants of the Torrid Zone, for obviating the effects of heat. Both live with comfort in their respective regions, but cannot exchange habitations without danger of dying; the one under fervent heat, and the other from the intense freezing cold; the powers of life being incapable of resisting the effects of these two extremes. For a fuller explanation of this subject, I must refer to my treatise on the effects of heat and of cold on the human body *. There it will be seen, that in all climates, the principle of life is under the necessity of exerting its powers in support of this wonderful law in the system, by which a fixed, uniform point of heat is endeavoured to be kept up in it. Hence we may conclude that climate to be best suited, not only to the preservation of health, but for raising and supporting the mental faculties in the utmost extent of their powers, where the quantity of heat generated, and that of its consumption,

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* Observations on the Animal OEconomy, section III.

sumption, shall, by a certain temperature of the air, be nearly balanced. For, in such a region, will be given the least exercise to the living principle, in resisting an increase or diminution of heat, to which there must be a tendency in warmer or colder situations. But, for a further illustration of this subject, it will be necessary to take a short view of the effects of the tropical heat on Europeans.

73. Several European colonies have subsisted in the Torrid Zone of America more than two centuries; and yet that length of time has not familiarized them to the climate. They cannot bear heat like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes transplanted from a country equally hot. They are far from equalling, in strength of mind or body, the nations from whom they sprung. The Spanish inhabitants of Carthagená in South America, lose their vigour and colour in a few months. The children born of European parents, especially the females, like the Creoles in the West Indies, are languid in their motions,

motions, and their language in conversation is slow, flows creepingly, sometimes with interruptions, and always without the least vivacity. It is almost unnecessary to mention the numbers of Europeans that die annually in the West Indian islands, or the numerous recruits sent from Europe to supply the place of those that die in South Carolina, Georgia, and the provinces to the south. But in those to the northward, a more temperate climate, the inhabitants are more intelligent, vigorous, bold, and hardy, and their population goes on fast.

74. The offspring of Europeans born in Batavia soon degenerate. Scarcely one of them has talents sufficient to bear a part in the administration. There is not an office of trust, but must be filled with native Europeans. Some Portuguese, who have been for ages settled on the coast of Congo, hardly retain the appearance of men; but, in all similar cases, the debility of body is always accompanied with a proportionable diminution in the vigour

of the faculties of the mind. A residence on the coast of Guinea for any considerable time, is always attended with the utmost danger to life : and, even of those Europeans who go to reside in India, a more healthy climate, how few return to their native countries !

75. Upon the whole, we may conclude, that though man is endowed with a constitution better calculated than that of any other animal, for migrating to distant climes ; yet, with all his sagacity to provide against the extremes of heat and of cold, he cannot remove from his native soil to any distant climate, without danger. These facts are the strongest evidence that can be given, or that the nature of the subject will admit, in proof of the original design of Providence, that every individual of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, man not excepted, should be endowed with a constitution suited to the climate they were destined to inhabit. Whoever, therefore, seriously believes all mankind to be derived from a single man and woman, may well say with the religious enthusiast, *Credo quia impossibile est !*

ON THE
FORMATION
OF THE
MINDS OF CHILDREN
PREVIOUS TO A
LITERARY EDUCATION.

P R E F A C E.

NOTHING can be of greater importance to the prosperity and happiness of a nation, than the introduction of piety and good morals among the lower classes of the people. This is so generally known, and has been so strongly inculcated by wise men in all ages, that it may be thought, now, an unnecessary observation. All civilized nations, sensible of the general benefit that must arise from a disposition to virtue, have, by their religious and civil constitutions, instituted, with different degrees of success, various means, to produce, in all ranks, so desirable an effect. These means have varied in different ages and countries, according to their religious and civil constitutions, and the degree of improvement that had taken place among the inhabitants. These observations must be evident to every

every one, who peruses with attention the histories of different countries; for good laws, good morals and piety, are commonly united, and are more or less conspicuous, in proportion to the degree in which each of them exists in a nation. Where immorality prevails (and, from the nature of man, it must exist in a greater or less degree in every nation), nothing contributes more to its suppression, than good laws strictly executed, and an inclination in the people to the exercise of religious duties. These advantages, which contribute so much to the good order and happiness of society, we now perhaps enjoy in a more eminent degree, than in some former periods, when there were among us more fanaticism and hypocrisy, than true piety.

The truth is, that government and morality have fluctuated exceedingly in this country for many centuries; but both have improved more since the Revolution 1688, than in any equal period of former times. This must not be ascribed solely to the Bill of Rights, by which

our constitution was certainly fixed on a more firm basis than at any former period, but partly to many salutary laws that have since been enacted, extending further the freedom and security of the subject, and to the upright administration of justice in our courts of law, which does so much honour to the abilities, learning, integrity, and humanity of our judges. This improvement of our Constitution by wholesome laws; the just and equitable decision of our Judges in civil cases; the great attention paid to the police; and the strict administration of justice, tempered with mercy, in the prosecution of criminals, have contributed greatly to the increase of morality among the lower ranks.

Though the terror and disgrace of public punishments have a considerable effect on the conduct of individuals, yet it is on religion and piety that we must chiefly depend for the propagation and establishment of good morals. In this, we are greatly assisted by the clergy of every denomination; for, in this happy æra of toleration, the

the sectaries themselves, a few weak men excepted, are not deficient on the head of good morals, any more than they are on that of piety : but it is chiefly to the clergy of the established churches of England and Scotland we look up for instruction in those particulars. Morality is taught in the most forcible manner in sermons from the pulpit, which wise pastors usually deliver in a language and style suited to their audience ; and, on some occasions, we find the indispensable precepts of religion and morality, supported with great eloquence, learning, and philosophy. Though printed sermons undoubtedly are of great use to mankind ; yet I am of opinion, that sermons delivered in the church have a greater influence on the congregation than the same sermons read in private ; for our minds are then elevated by devotion and social worship, and are prepared to receive stronger and more permanent impressions than can be produced by reading in private.

From history it appears, that rude nations advance in civilization, in the art of government,
arts,

arts, sciences, religion, piety, and morality, in proportion to the degree of literature and knowledge that prevails in them ; which seem originally to spring from public schools, academies, colleges, and universities. We must however acknowledge, that the great benefit derived from these seminaries of learning, is chiefly confined to persons of condition, or to those whose wealth enables them to prosecute so expensive an education. For, a great majority of the children of the peasantry and labourers continuing to be grossly ignorant and illiterate, profligacy and immorality must naturally prevail among them.

I have endeavoured to enumerate the most obvious requisites towards the establishment of religion and morality in every country ; but there is a circumstance less attended to, though of greater consequence to a nation for the establishment of both, than any of those mentioned. This is the formation of the minds of children previous to their literary education, which must commence while they are in arms, and should be

be carried on by the mother, or such discreet female as may have the charge of the health and education of the child. It consists, at first, chiefly in the suppression of the passions of anger and resentment, and in bringing about, by the gentlest means possible, a perfect obedience to the will of the mother, till it becomes a habit; which may be accomplished in a great degree before the child can speak. This obedience being acquired and kept up for a few years, is, with an exemplary conduct in the parents, the best means of producing docility, and an even, cheerful temper in the child. When reason begins to dawn, it disposes him to receive, by degrees, the principles of religion and morality; and likewise facilitates our endeavours to introduce the practice of industry. It is on this plan the following Treatise has been written; and, though it is applicable to every station, yet, as no expence is incurred in the execution of it, except that of time and attention, it is particularly calculated for the lower ranks, for whom it is chiefly intended. But as these last constitute the great
body

body of the people, and from them the strength and wealth of every nation are derived, so, it is the duty and interest of the Legislature, as well as of individuals, to promote their happiness and prosperity by every possible means. This is best done, by an early attention to the formation of the minds of infants and children, so as to bring them up in habits of virtue and industry ; for it is to a neglect of the culture of their minds, when young, and to bad example, that we must ascribe the commission of most crimes, and the immorality that prevails among them, especially in great cities. In corroboration of this truth, it may be remarked, that in proportion to the degree of ignorance and immorality which prevail in a country, there is observed a propensity in the inhabitants to anarchy, or to the wild resolution of governing themselves ; which the most judicious penal laws are unable fully to correct. For, however wisely devised may be those laws against crimes ; while vice is allowed to corrupt the infant mind, the most vigorous execution of these laws will only prove a palliative for the diseased

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diseased constitution of society, and not a perfect cure. This can only be accomplished, by the introduction of a virtuous education, which naturally diminishes the perpetration of crimes; and not by penal laws, which are disregarded by the vicious or wicked.

The public in general, and especially those who, from an early education, have been bred to a life of virtue, express their surprize, that the execution of the penal laws produce not in criminals a more powerful effect. But the least reflection explains this; for, before public punishments can be inflicted, the disease of immorality has in most cases become incurable. The humanity of judges, and the law itself, precludes from any high degree of public correction or disgrace, both sexes, before they are thirteen or or fourteen years of age. It is known, however, that by this time, the minds of youth have in general taken their bias, with different degrees of propensity in individuals to virtue or to vice. For, if any one is at that early age so abandon-
ed,

ed, as repeatedly to commit such crimes, as must come under the cognizance of the civil magistrate, there can be little expectation of his being thoroughly reclaimed to a life of virtue. This must be partly owing to his vicious habits, and disposition to indolence not having been corrected by an early education ; but chiefly to the loss of character, which prevents his being received into any industrious family as a servant, or trusted in any transaction of business. This has too often the effect of throwing him into the society of the wicked, for no other will receive him ; and there, his education for every thing that is immoral is soon completed, which ruins him for ever. From the depravity of the minds of some individuals, it is impossible to prevent many such characters in every nation : but to lessen their number, and to introduce a greater degree of piety, morality, and industry among the lower ranks, than exists at present, by a virtuous education during childhood and youth, is what is proposed in the following Treatise. This is the foundation on which the

melioration of a constitution, in every point of view, ought chiefly to rest ; since, in proportion to the culture of these desirable qualities in the mind, will contentment and prosperity advance ; and sedition, the source of idleness, dissipation, and discontent, decrease among the lower classes of the people. The first steps towards a reform, ought to be directed to the increase of private industry, intelligence, and virtue ; and then the improvement of government will easily follow, without convulsion or considerable disturbance in the State.

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ON
THE FORMATION OF THE MINDS
OF CHILDREN

PREVIOUS TO
A LITERARY EDUCATION.

SECTION I.

A GENERAL PLAN OF EDUCATION
IMPRACTICABLE.

Par. 1. FROM the immense difference in the capacities of individuals, the great variety of dispositions, the different degrees of genius, and diversity of talents among men, considerable success is not to be expected from the strict prosecution of any general plan of education. Most of the treatises on this subject I have had an opportunity of perusing, seem chiefly calculated for the children of persons of condition, or above the middling ranks of the people, and for the

youth whose capacities are above mediocrity. But as these comprehend not one hundredth part of the body of the people, every one must perceive how impossible it is to form any scheme of education that could be prosecuted by all ranks with equal advantage. We ought to take under consideration, not only the situation and circumstances of the parents and children, but the degrees of genius in these last ; their prospects in life ; their propensities from habits acquired in youth : and the studies in which they are to be engaged, ought to be suited to the powers of their mind.

2. Whoever wishes to obtain distinct ideas of the propriety of the various plans of education for the different capacities and circumstances of the people, will perhaps find it necessary to divide them into several classes. The first may comprehend the privileged orders, great landholders, opulent merchants, and rich men of every denomination ; the second, men of middling, but independent fortunes ; the third, manufacturers, tradesmen, mechanics, and farmers ; and the fourth,

fourth, common labourers and menial servants. I am not certain, that this division of the inhabitants of a nation is correct : But, supposing it to be just, it is not sufficient, of itself, to direct us to the formation of any plan of education that will suit every individual of the class for which it was intended. For, unless an impartial judgement is formed of the abilities of the youth, which is not always the case, we are apt to commit great errors in the plan of his education. The circumstances of the parents, too, often direct the line of study, the capacity of the pupil not being duly considered ; which is the reason why we have so many men of mean parts in the different professions. The reverse happens to boys of genius, whose parents are poor, or in narrow circumstances ; for they, not being able to carry on the education of their children, farther than reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic, usually bind them to some mechanical employment. The consequence to the public, of this misapplication of talents, is very different from that arising from a learned

education forced on boys of mean abilities. In this case, the youth, notwithstanding his great labour, makes such slow progress in his preliminary studies, and afterwards in those of his profession, as sufficiently shows how little is to be expected from him as a professional man; whereas the poor boy of genius, without much fatigue of body or mind, easily obtains, during his apprenticeship, the complete use of his tools, the most proper method of working, and readily comprehends the principles on which his mechanical art is established.

3. It sometimes happens, that the business in which these young men of genius are engaged, affords not sufficient exercise to the powers of their mind. This leads them to the study of such branches of literature as may enable them to comprehend, with ease, the principles of their art. For the same reasons, they keep not always to the simple employments prescribed by their parents, but seek with impatience after some other art, where greater ingenui-

ty must be exercised. This ardour for improvement is so natural to such young men, that they often employ their leisure hours in acquiring a knowledge of arithmetic, book-keeping, algebra, trigonometry, and such other branches of mathematics as are judged necessary for the line of business in which they are to be engaged. In proof of this, we have only to recollect the names of those men who have arisen from the lower ranks of the people to opulence, and sometimes to considerable offices in the State, by such means as have just been mentioned. But we must always suppose the abilities of such men to be accompanied with prudence, activity and probity, which, when generally known, contribute greatly to gain them the favour of the public.

4. Many of our most ingenious mechanics, inventors of useful arts, engineers, navigators, &c. of former times, were of obscure parentage ; neither do several of the philosophers and artists of our own times boast of their ancestry. The former, however, from the great benefit de-

rived from their labours, are now ranked among the most respectable of our predecessors ; while the latter, from the honour they have acquired to themselves and their country, and on account of their great abilities, are justly held in the highest estimation by the public. But if young men of genius, under all the depression and inconvenience of narrow circumstances, make such progress in philosophy and the arts, it is easy to perceive the great advantage which the youth of equal abilities, under the tuition of wealthy parents, must have over them. As this, however, is sufficiently obvious, it is unnecessary to enlarge on it. Neither shall I proceed farther with my observations, to prove the impracticability of any general plan of education ; for my sole intention, at present, is to suggest such means as I believe may be used with success in forming the minds of children to virtue and happiness, previous to their entering on the literary branches of their education.

5. It is the early culture of the minds of children to truth, to the practice of subduing
their

their passions, to patience, obedience, and such other virtuous habits as I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, that lays the foundation of their future happiness and reputation. As these are unquestionably the blessed effects of a virtuous conduct, the foundation of which should be laid in infancy, it ought to be our chief care to inculcate such habits as may in the end form the mind to virtue. The lessons and method I propose for this species of culture, are not liable to the objections which may be brought against any general plan for a learned education ; for they may be practised, with nearly equal success, on the meanest, as on the most enlarged capacities. But there is another circumstance, the health of the child, at least equally essential with the improvement of its mind, to which we ought, in the first place, to pay some attention. I mean not to give a medical dissertation on this subject, but to make such observations, and give such instructions, on the diet, clothing, and management of children, as may be readily understood by mothers and nurses.

SECTION II.

ON THE HEALTH OF INFANTS.

6. It is universally known, that a large proportion of the human species die before they are three or four years of age. It is certain, however, that a great number of them are lost, from a want of that strict attention which ought to be paid to the management of children, while they are in so weak and helpless a state. As an increase of population is of the greatest importance to every country, it is from a strong desire of being useful in this respect, that I humbly offer the following observations on the preservation of the health of children. They are not only intended to remedy, so far as can be done, that neglect of the tender care which ought to be bestowed on infants, but to rectify certain practices in the management of them, which I have always considered as injurious to their health. Our care and attention to the health of the infant ought to commence with its birth ;
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and, considering the degree of heat in which it has hitherto been kept, I approve not of washing the child with cold water, as is sometimes practised ; for the idea of making the infant hardy, immediately on its birth, is premature and absurd. The water ought to be lukewarm for some weeks, and rendered cooler by degrees, as he acquires strength. The whole clothing of an infant ought to be easy and warm, particularly the head-dress ; and the number of folds of flannel or linen used for this purpose, should be lessened, by degrees, as the head becomes firmer, and the child gains strength. If I mention rheums of the head, stoppage of the nose, and inflammations of the eyes, as the consequences of too thin a head-dress, it is to guard against the folly of such a practice. The strong and copious perspiration of infants lately born, shows the necessity of frequent and careful ablutions, especially behind the ears, about the armpits and groins. As this perspiration lessens, the necessity of frequent washing diminishes ; but it cannot be too strongly inculcated, that to keep a child perfectly clean and dry, contributes greatly to its health.

7. The foetus in utero is supposed to derive the whole of its heat from the mother ; but, as soon as it is born, and respiration commences, it acquires a power of generating heat in itself. Most quadrupeds possess this power in a greater degree than man ; for, as soon as they are born, it seems sufficient to counteract the cooling effects of the atmosphere, to which they are exposed. But puppies, kittens, and the young of some other quadrupeds, from their crawling so frequently under their mother, appear to seek after that genial warmth which they are for some time, of themselves, incapable of generating. Birds remain in their nests, and under their mother, till they are sufficiently fledged, and have acquired greater powers of generating heat. Fowls seem conscious of the inability of their young brood to keep themselves in a proper degree of heat, by calling them so frequently under their wings. I shall not proceed farther on this wonderful process of nature ; the cause of which, and that of the singular power the living body possesses, of resisting the effects of cold, I have
formerly

formerly endeavoured to explain, in my Treatise on the effects of heat and of cold, and on respiration ; my only design, here, being to shew the inability of infants, for some time, to generate, in themselves, that degree of animal heat best suited to their condition. In mentioning this fact, my intention is to reprobate the practice of hooking a small bed, made for the accommodation of the infant, to that in which the mother or nurse lies. For as the child has not, in itself, a sufficient degree of heat, that of the mother, especially in severe weather, is necessary to supply the defect, and to obviate the effects of cold,

8. There is an universal desire among parents to bring up their children to be hardy ; but, in many instances, great errors are committed in their endeavours to obtain this end. As parents are sometimes too apt to overrate the mental abilities of their children ; so, they likewise, on some occasions, conceive too high an opinion of the strength of their constitution. Every child is born with a certain degree of natural

ral strength, which may be preserved or impaired by good or bad management ; but no art, medicine, or usage, can ever increase the powers of the constitution beyond those which nature has conferred. It is our duty, no doubt, to preserve those powers, and, by every possible means, to bring up our children to be as hardy as the nature of their constitution will permit ; but we cannot go farther, without danger to the health of the child. Though we are not all born with an equal degree of strength ; yet, where there is no hereditary disease, all, with care, may live to nearly the same age. From experience, I can assert, that those parents who underrate somewhat the constitution of their children, and take a little more care of them than is just necessary, are more successful in rearing their offspring than those who follow a contrary practice.

9. The more successful we are in preventing diseases in children, we the more effectually provide for the preservation of their constitution,
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and the gradual increase of their strength, as they advance in years. There are, no doubt, certain diseases to which children are liable, that can rarely be prevented, as the small-pox, which is easily got over by inoculation ; the measles, chin-cough, mumps, called in Scotland the branks, or buffets, and fits of teething, all which may be rendered less formidable than they sometimes are, by proper treatment. The diseases most in our power to prevent, are those arising from cold, which often affect children with great severity, producing coughs, feverishness, and frequent fits of teething ; under which complaints, the stomach and bowels usually suffer. These disorders, when slight, give no alarm ; and the children often get well without much trouble : but, when they continue long with severity, or frequently return, they sometimes terminate in diseases of greater danger.

10. It is to prevent these accidents that I have, for many years, forbidden the carrying of children abroad till their third or fourth month, unless

unless in the summer, and then only for a short space each time. I am even of opinion, that children born after the month of September should seldom be carried out till the mild weather in the ensuing spring. I mean not to say that children in arms are not to be carried abroad at all for so considerable a time ; for, where there is an area or garden belonging to the house, the carrying of them out frequently for a few minutes, as is practised in the country, is of great use.

11. This advice is chiefly calculated for the city of Edinburgh, where the child-maids, not the best in the world, seldom stop with their infants till they get to the Castlehill, the Meadow, Prince's-street, or some other distant place of meeting, where they can gossip with one another. It is remaining in these places, or in narrow lanes called closes, for a considerable time, in bad weather, that brings on such severe diseases from cold, as often prove fatal. What is still more cruel and absurd, is the perverse obstinacy

stinacy of many of the child-maids to carry out their infants, even during their indisposition, and without much regard to the weather. This leave they obtain by constant sollicitation, and by exciting in the mother a belief that nothing can contribute so much to the health of the infant as fresh air ; though their desire to get out, is solely for their own amusement, and sometimes their emolument. During the summer, great numbers of child-maids, and hundreds of children, resort to the Meadow for new milk. Among these are many convalescents, who have just got over the small-pox, measles, or some other infectious disorder ; and from this association of children diseases are communicated. But it is sufficient merely to mention the danger of infection, to guard parents against the hazard of bringing diseases into their family.

12. Could I have influence enough to persuade the public, that hardiness with children ought not to be attempted, while in arms, nor for some years after, I am confident, that the number of children

children in the bills of mortality would lessen considerably. It is catarrhs or colds, most of which might be prevented, that are the origin of many of their diseases which prove fatal. A fit of teething is usually the consequence of every cold, caught after the commencement of the fifth month ; whereas, most children cut their teeth easily, who are kept free from colds till they are two years of age. The prevention of catarrhs, in children, I consider as the chief means of preserving the natural strength of their constitution, and of rendering them more capable of resisting the effects of other diseases, when they come to be attacked by them. This may be effected, with moderate attention, in almost every family, without accustoming the child to too delicate a management, which, as hurtful to the constitution, must ever be avoided. The children, however, of some parents are so extremely delicate, that, to rear them, requires the utmost care and attention ; while those of others, with a good sound constitution, get on through infancy and childhood with little trouble, and few or no complaints.

13. It is an unhappy circumstance, when the parents of delicate children take a conceit of bringing them up to be hardy, by thin clothing, and exposing them to such degrees of cold as would require more than double their strength to bear with impunity. Upon the plan of rendering children robust, a general practice prevails, in Scotland, of sending them abroad without stockings, and sometimes without either shoes or stockings. I beg leave, however, to inform the advocates for such a practice, that so far from being of service, those children caught catarrhs more frequently than those who were better and more decently dressed *. Besides, it

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* This savage custom, of going without shoes or stockings, is much practised by most of the servant-maids in Scotland, especially in the country ; but, from long experience, I can assert, that they are neither so healthy nor so hardy as those who follow a contrary practice. They are subject to many diseases from cold, and sometimes die of consumptions ; but all of them, without exception, acquire a preternatural growth about the ancles, some of them to an immense thickness, from the constant application of cold.

must be remarked, that the oftener children are seized with catarrhs, the more liable they become to returns of that disorder, from too great an exposure to the cold air. For, to inure children to certain degrees of cold, and the vicissitudes of the weather, we must proceed with great caution, while they are in arms, and afterwards with moderation in the exercise of this practice, till they are five, six, or seven years of age. As every one must be convinced of the gradual increase of strength of body and constitution, from birth to manhood : so, they must likewise see, that the ability to resist the effects of cold must in that time proportionably increase. Indeed, I have always been of opinion, that children ought never to be exposed to much cold, or for any considerable time, till they are able to run about, or otherwise exercise themselves, in the open air, which counteracts the effects of the cold, and strengthens the body. As it is unnecessary to enlarge farther on this subject of hardiness, which I have not the least scruple to recommend to parents, provided they lay no more on their children

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ren in this way than they can easily bear ; I shall proceed, next, to consider, what is equally essential to health, the proper diet of children.

SECTION III.

ON THE PROPRIETY AND IMPROPRIETY OF MOTHERS NURSING THEIR CHILDREN.

14. Those, who plead so powerfully for the universal practice of mothers nursing their children, imagine, that no argument can overturn their doctrine, while they adhere to nature as their guide. By keeping her always in view, they constantly appeal to the custom of savage nations, where the mothers, without exception, nurse their children. It must, however, be remarked, that the women in civilized countries are far from being on an equality, in this respect, with female savages. These last have comparatively fewer delicate or deformed children, who, for the most part, die in infancy, from hunger, hardships, and neglect. For it is reported, and

generally believed, that they pay very little attention to those infants whom they judge incapable of being reared to undergo the fatigues and hardships of the savage state. By this inhuman practice, their nations are less populous than civilized countries. It is rare to observe more than two or three children in an Indian family ; but those are of such a constitution, as has enabled them to survive the hard usage of the savage life from their infancy.

15. In European countries, where our care increases with the delicacy and diseased state of the children, and where provisions are in greater abundance, the population is proportionably greater. Hence it follows, that in civilized nations, where many weakly children are reared, there must be a greater proportion of delicate men and women, than in savage countries. For the good of the public, it is to be wished, that those persons with infirm constitutions would not intermarry, but that each would select in marriage, for the sake of their offspring, and
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to diminish a tendency to hereditary diseases, their husband or wife from a healthy family with a sound constitution. This is one of those advices which Ariosto would have placed in the moon, with things to be forgotten ; for in marriage, more attention is in general paid to wealth, connexions, and interest, than to constitution. Since this is, and always will be the case, while individuals of either sex selfishly pay a greater regard to wealth and their ease, than to the health and happiness of their offspring, we must have delicate females among us. If such delicate women, therefore, shall prefer a good-natured healthy young woman, who has more and better milk than her own, she certainly thereby not only confers a benefit on her child, but on herself, by the preservation of her constitution.

16. I incline not to go farther with my apology for mothers not nursing their children, though we may include, with propriety, in the number of bad nurses, some women of fashion and dissipation, whose avocations in paying and

receiving visits, in going to public places, card-playing, and sitting up at night, render them altogether unfit for the exact and constant duty which must be discharged in nursing *. I have even gone farther sometimes, in recommending nurses to women free from every hereditary disorder,

* On the subject of a certain person of rank pretending to nurse her child, Lady M. W. Montague, in her usual vein of humour, makes the following observations: ‘ If
‘ Mrs ——— was a buxom, sturdy woman, who lived on
‘ plain food, took regular exercise, enjoyed proper returns
‘ of rest, and was free from violent passions (which you and
‘ I know is not the case), she might be a good nurse for
‘ her child; but, as matters stand, I do verily think, that
‘ the milk of a good comely cow, who feeds quietly in her
‘ meadow, never devours ragouts, nor drinks ratifia, nor
‘ frets at quadrille, nor sits up till three in the morning,
‘ elated with gain, or dejected with loss; I do think, that
‘ the milk of such a cow, or of a nurse that came as near
‘ it as possible, would be likely to nourish the young squire
‘ much better than hers. If it be true, that the child sucks
‘ in the mother’s passions with her milk, this is a strong argument in favour of the cow, unless you may be afraid
‘ that the young squire may become a calf: but how many
‘ calves are there, both in State and Church, who have
‘ been brought up with their mother’s milk?’ Letter 53.

disorder, especially in their first child, either on account of their youth and inexperience, or who I suspected not to be sufficiently strong for the fatigue of that duty to which every good nurse must so constantly attend; these women having with proper assistance, often proved exceeding good nurses to the rest of their children; and, when they are not materially hurt by nursing, I have always advised them to continue the practice. With the exceptions just made, every woman most unquestionably ought to nurse her children; for, notwithstanding what has been said, the affection, the care, and sedulous attention of the mother, in every thing that relates to the health and dress of the infant, must be greatly superior to that of a mercenary woman. There is, however, little reason to reflect against women for not undertaking this duty; for most of them naturally incline to it, if we except some persons of opulence; and, even among these, it is now more general than formerly.

SECTION IV.

ON THE DIET AND MANAGEMENT OF CHILDREN.

17. It is so generally allowed, that the mother's milk is a wise provision in nature for the nourishment of her infant, that no one ever thinks of substituting any other species of aliment in its place, unless when the mother is without milk, and in poverty. It is usually the second day after birth, before the infant is put to the breast ; and, in the interim, a little water-gruel, sweetened with sugar, is given, till the bowels are sufficiently evacuated; for which purpose, we are obliged sometimes to add a few grains of magnesia. If the breast is free, and the milk plenty, it is of itself sufficient for the nourishment of the child for the first three months. To give the infant, during that period, panada, or other articles of diet, though of easy digestion, two or three times a day, is not so necessary as is commonly apprehended, and

and ought seldom to be practised, unless to make up for deficiency of milk ; for the powers of digestion being at that time exceedingly weak, such food, given in too great a quantity, occasions indigestion and gripes, to which infants are extremely liable during the first three months. From the commencement, however, of the fourth month, nurses ought to begin to accustom their children, by degrees, to a little panada, thin broth, or beef tea, as it is called, with crumbs of bread ; gradually increasing the quantity with the age and strength of the infant. This sort of food may be varied, by giving them rice-broth, rice-milk, and sometimes a bit, or the whole of the yolk of a soft boiled egg, with bread.

18. Experience has taught us the proper time for the suckling of infants to be nine months. Sooner than this, they digest not, with equal ease, the ordinary articles of food given to children ; and when it is continued longer, the milk diminishes in quantity, and they, depend-
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ing too much on the breast, for the most part sensibly fall off. A little variation from this general rule is sometimes practised with impunity, by weaning children at the seventh month, either on account of the remarkably healthy condition of the child, or to favour the delicate constitution of the mother. It is not a trivial circumstance for the health and hilarity of the child, that the nurse or child-maid be good-natured, sprightly and active, have good eyes, and a cheerful countenance, constantly dancing, singing, or moving the child about ; and the more of a cheerful, noisy, nonsensical conversation, she holds to the infant, the higher are its spirits exhilarated. About six weeks after the child is weaned, he is commonly seized with a diarrhæa, and sometimes a vomiting, which may, for the most part, be prevented, by moderation in the diet, and giving a doze of magnesia twice a week, for two months from the time the child has been weaned.

19. After the first three months, especially if in the summer, the water with which the
child

child is washed twice a day, ought to be of the temperature of the air ; and this practice should be continued, except in the severe weather of winter, when the chilly cold may be taken off by a red-hot poker. Cold bathing in the morning, and washing with the hand the most perspirable parts with cold water in the evening, should be continued till they can walk steadily and with ease. But, after this period, when the child comes to run briskly about, bathing and washing carefully in the morning is sufficient, and should be continued till he is four or five years of age, or even longer, unless when indisposition forbids the practice. The nearer children are to the time of their birth, the greater is the quantity of sleep required. The irregular, frequent, and short sleeps a child takes through the day, while on the breast, are, when he is weaned, contracted to two, and afterwards to one sleep in the forenoon, which ought to be continued till three years of age, or till the necessity of it by degrees leaves them. It is on account of this natural demand for a large proportion

portion of sleep, that children from three to five years of age should be put to bed soon after six o'clock ; and from their fifth to their seventh year, at seven o'clock in the evening, in the winter ; but a little more indulgence may be given in summer. From eight to ten or eleven years of age, the time of going to bed ought not to exceed nine in winter, and ten o'clock in the summer months ; for it is amazing the alteration that great errors in this way make on the health and complexion of children. Though the sitting up at night affects not, in any remarkable degree, the health and constitution of strong men, especially when unaccompanied with the drinking of strong liquors, yet delicate men and women have their health sensibly hurt by that practice ; and they acquire that pale, sickly look, we so often meet with in great towns.

20. With regard to the diet of children, there are two plans, sometimes prosecuted by persons of condition, or in easy circumstances, diametrically opposite to each other. The one
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consists of vegetables and milk, to which are generally added eggs, custards, puddings, weak broths, and sometimes fruit and wine; but animal food is given too sparingly, and too seldom: the other is made up of the above articles, with too large a proportion of meat. Both these plans of diet are hurtful to the constitution of children; the former subjects them to the diseases arising from debility, inanition, and poverty; the latter, to those which are the natural consequences of surfeits, indigestion, and plethora. Hence, we may safely conclude, that between these two extremes of too low and too full a diet, is to be drawn that just medium best calculated for general use. Though children, by the time they are a year old, may be indulged with a small morsel of meat now and then; yet it is not till they are able to run briskly about that they should be allowed a little animal food at dinner every day, or every second day. This practice should be continued till they are three or four years of age, when a little meat may be given more regularly every day; but with such moderation,

moderation, that the greater part of their diet shall still consist of vegetables.

21. The cramming of children with oatmeal porridge, as is practised in Scotland while they are in arms, and for some time after, I have always considered to be prejudicial to the health of delicate children. Their powers of digestion not being sufficient for such a mess, they are often seized with diarrhæas, or become *pot-bellied*; a term commonly given to an unusual size of the abdomen in children. But, after they pass their sixth or seventh year, and can take a good deal of exercise, it then becomes with many an excellent article of diet. The appetites of children are in general keen, and their digestion quick; on which account, besides their regular meals, some bread should be given them three or four times a day. As some children have a quicker digestion than others, it is by experience and observation alone that the quantity of food necessary for each can be adjusted. But as a voracious appetite may in some degree be acquired

quired by indulgence, restraint should be put on an uncommon keenness for food, which often subjects them to indigestion, worms, and sometimes fits. As no beverage is so well calculated for the digestion of our food as simple water, so, the most we can say in favour of wine, when given for this purpose to children, is, that it is useless to the strong, but prejudicial to the delicate, as an article of diet: for, although it may be given as a cordial, in certain diseases, with advantage; yet the giving it every day at dinner often occasions sourness and indigestion.

22. Hitherto, we have been considering the diet and management of children of persons in easy circumstances; and when they are in such situations, it is undoubtedly the quality and quantity of food suited to the different ages and degrees of strength that ought chiefly to engage our attention. But these instructions avail little in regard to children of common labourers, some poor mechanics, servants, and, in general, the necessitous inhabitants of great cities, towns, and villages.

villages. For their poverty permits them not to be nice in the quality of their food, and, from the same cause, they are too often stinted in their meals. This scantiness in the articles of diet, from inability to purchase them, often obliges parents and children to put up with so slender a meal, that the craving of hunger is seldom completely overcome. Such situations are most frequent in great towns, where a want of morality and religion, with a propensity to laziness and drunkenness, prevail among the labouring poor : for their expending part of their income on strong liquors keeps them in perpetual poverty. They are badly accommodated in their small apartments, often exposed to cold as well as hunger, and an unwholesome air, from uncleanness, the usual concomitant of indolence and poverty. It is on these accounts that such people bring up so few children ; for they seldom rear above one in four or five that are born, and sometimes they are still more unfortunate in the number of deaths.

23. It is otherwise with the common labourers and cottagers in the country, whose annual income amounts not to more than that which the pitiable inhabitants of the same class in great towns usually receive. For, in the country, they have a greater respect for moral duties, incline to religion, are more industrious and frugal, and, in calamitous cases of want, they are always assisted, in some degree, by their neighbours: Besides, a little bit of garden ground, in which they raise coleworts, cabbages, potatoes, and other roots, is to them of infinite use. It is to this larger proportion of food, and a more affectionate attention to their offspring, that we must ascribe a greater population to these people, than to those of a similar rank in great towns: For, experience and observation have shown, from time immemorial, and in all places, that the increase or decrease of population has always kept pace with the plenty or scarcity of provisions. In the provinces of Bahar, Orixá, and Bengal in India, where a pound of rice, in plentiful years, is sold for little more than a farthing,

the population is immense ; but it is the reverse in some of the provinces of the Russian empire, and in all other parts of the world, where provisions are scarce. Hence, we may conclude, that the diseases arising from too low a diet in children, are more permanent and fatal than those which are owing to the abuse of plenty ; for these last are generally slight and easily remedied. In this Section, I have endeavoured to be as concise as possible ; my principal design being to correct, what I apprehend were some errors that had crept into practice, in the diet, clothing, and management of children. There are, no doubt, several other circumstances of less moment, on which I might have enlarged ; but, as intelligent mothers and nurses are tolerably conversant on these subjects, to avoid prolixity, I have omitted to mention them. As the prosperity, however, of every country depends considerably on its population, which must correspond in a great degree with the care and attention that is paid to the health of infants and children,

children, too much sollicitude on this head can scarcely be exercised *.

SECTION V.

ON THE FORMATION OF THE MIND TO VIRTUE.

24. The next subject for our consideration, mentioned in Paragraph 5th, is (by an early attention to the tempers and dispositions of children) to form their minds in such a manner, as to render them as susceptible of the ideas of good and bad actions, as their infant capacities are capable of comprehending. To begin our little lessons of approbation or disapprobation of certain actions or expressions of passion, so early as when the child is in arms, and before it can speak, may be thought by some to be rather premature. But if the child can comprehend, by the expression of the countenance, by gestures, or by speech, what you wish to inculcate, it is not then too soon to begin the

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* *Vide* Appendix, No. I.

formation of their minds to good habits and submission. A child, for the first four months, certainly has some fleeting ideas of objects and sounds ; but they become not permanent till after many repetitions ; for it is not till about this period that they show a preference to their nurse. Before a child is nine months old, it appears to know every one in the family ; soon after the twelfth month, it seems to understand language ; about the sixteenth or eighteenth month, sometimes sooner, it begins to walk ; and, before two years of age, to prattle a little. The quick progress which infants make in different species of knowledge, in little more than the first two years, is very great, and perhaps superior to any thing they ever acquire in the same space of time during the rest of their lives. By this time, they speak fluently, which shows a most retentive memory ; every object, whether natural or artificial, in the house or in the fields, with their names, have become familiar, and, in most cases, they in some degree know the use of them.

25. This astonishing advancement in knowledge during the first two years, or two years and a half, is the strongest proof that can be given of the propriety of beginning early with children our gentle lessons, even while they are in arms. It shows with what ease their tender minds may be impressed with ideas of good and bad actions, which are rendered familiar to them by repetition, before they can reason on the good or evil tendency of either. The sooner our care in this respect commences, while the sensorium of children is ductile, and easily impressed, the more successful shall we be in forming the mind of the child ; which must be considered as forming the character of the future man. As soon as a child can speak, our first lesson ought to be a veneration for truth, which is the foundation of religion, of all moral duties, the support of every social virtue, and of confidence in every transaction in which man engages. When this cardinal quality comes to be unalterably fixed in the mind, it never fails to confer on the person such a degree of courage, resolution,

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resolution, firm and generous independence, and such a contempt of every advantage that could be obtained, or of every disadvantage that might be avoided, by the sacrifice of truth, as to render him truly respectable ; for it is the highest ornament of a great soul. However great a man's abilities may be ; if accompanied with falsehood, he never can command your esteem, which you readily bestow on others of meaner parts, and perhaps in poverty, but in whom you know truth constantly to dwell. This divine attribute must be considered as intimately connected with every species of virtue, one grain of which, in an extensive sense, is of greater value in the sight of God and of reason, than all the mass of intellect in the world united in one person, if accompanied with falsehood.

26. This inestimable possession is to the poor man a source of happiness and of wealth ; for, who can withhold from him their good opinion, their good wishes for his prosperity, or even their credit, when there is occasion for it ?

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In this way, such men, even with moderate parts, get on in the world, and become comparatively rich with others of the same rank and line of business, but of an opposite character. Indeed, the love of character is so strongly implanted in the human breast, that rogues themselves wish to obtain it, and, for that end, put on the semblance of honest men: and, though they may sometimes succeed, yet they seldom do ultimately; for their deceit, so often practised, shows their real character. When piety, and a sense of our moral duties, produce and support a uniform integrity, then the loss of reputation wounds one of the most lively feelings of the human heart, and is one of the greatest calamities in life. There is no qualification for which men ought to be so much admired, or any quality of the mind, which raises a man of the lowest condition more to an equality with the most dignified, in the esteem of good men, than integrity and truth. Many are the evils that attend the character of dishonesty; for the unprincipled man naturally raises our suspicion and jealousy

of him, and this in proportion to the idea we have formed of his abilities and talents : so that he at last becomes rather an object of terror, than an associate with whom we can with safety transact business; and this produces his ruin.

27. How amiable soever truth may be, yet neither this inestimable quality, nor charity, nor humanity, nor any other virtue, can be so successfully impressed on the minds of children by precept, as by example and habit. For man being perhaps the most imitative animal on earth, every precept to children must be lost, while a bad example is set before them. If children, therefore, are so prone to imitate their parents, or the society in which they live, and to whom they look up for instruction, how circumspect ought every one to be in their presence, till a proper conduct and good principles are fixed in their minds by length of time and practice ! This agreeable (or, rather, on account of the great advantages to be derived from it to society, let us call it a religious)

religious) duty, can only meet with success by perseverance, until good habits are acquired ; for it is by habit we are governed. Though this observation is particularly applicable to children ; yet it is known that men and women are likewise, in many instances, ruled by habits, some of which have adhered to them from childhood, while others have been acquired afterwards by imitation.

28. As soon as reason in children begins to dawn, good habits may be enforced by such little arguments as we may judge them capable of comprehending, and with good effect, except in some few instances, from bad natural dispositions, on which I shall afterwards have an opportunity of making some remarks. By such care and attention, and particularly by presenting constantly to children the best example for their conduct, we are often successful, in a few years, in forming the little man or woman of virtue. But, without that good example I wish so much to inculcate, all will be in vain, and all
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our lessons lost ; for little children look up to their parents with reverence, and copy them more readily in their bad language and bad actions, than in those that are good : hence, every thing that is said or done by their parents, to them appears manly. When children, however, fall into mistakes in this particular, the spectators should seem to be struck with astonishment, and, in other respects, to express, in the strongest manner, their disapprobation ; for nothing continues bad habits so effectually as laughter, and appearing to be amused with their little fallies. The folly of some parents, in encouraging their children in what is called bad language, and in a spirit of domineering over domestics and servants, I have known to be productive of the worst consequences in their future conduct and behaviour. From experience, the managers of charitable institutions for the education of children, particularly those of our Orphan Hospital, receive with great reluctance, the children of such low people as are suspected to have led immoral lives : for, their children
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being brought up with the worst examples of immorality and gracelessness, there is danger of their corrupting the better bred children in the hospital. Bad habits being once fixed, are seldom, and with the greatest difficulty, removed.

SECTION VI.

ON RELIGION.

29. Religion, being of Divine origin and appointment, ought to be our next care; the culture and cherishing of which, in infants and children, commands our utmost attention. I mean not, that precepts of religion, or articles of faith, or such explanations of them as require greater force of reason and reflection to comprehend, than children possess, are to be given them. They should, for some years, be left to learn their religion, as they do their language, by the ear; which is greatly assisted by the grave deportment and language, used by others

thers while in acts of devotion. This leads them to ask questions ; for no being is more inquisitive, or more desirous of information, than children. It may be sufficient, however, for their first lessons, and perhaps we ought to go no farther for some time, to endeavour to give them some idea of a great, beneficent, invifible God.

30. To raife their veneration for God, as far as their infant minds are capable of comprehending, fome of his attributes ought now and then to be mentioned ; as his perfection, his power, his goodnefs, his mercy ; and to inculcate in the ftrongeft manner a future exiftence, with rewards, and punifhments. It is unnecelfary to proceed farther with children, for fome years, in inftructing them in the principles of the Chriftian religion, which, when freed from the abfurdities with which it has been corrupted by priefts, crafty men, and ignorant fanatics, is of itfelf plain, fimple, and eafily underftood. When children are of age, fufficient to attend public worfhip, it is incumbent on us to inculcate
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the necessity of it, as well as that of private devotion, which we must suppose them to have been previously taught.

31. In this way, we lead the youth of both sexes frequently to contemplate the precepts of religion ; their duty to God, to themselves, and to one another ; and by this devout exercise of the mind often repeated, the principles of our religion become at last fixed and permanent. When young men and women are so fortunate as to acquire that love and veneration for religious duties which appear so amiable to every man of sense, it has a wonderful and blessed effect in engaging them to a strict discharge of the moral duties to one another. This is conspicuous in some good men, who, notwithstanding their correct conduct, by reprobating fanaticism, superstition, and hypocrisy, bring themselves by many to be suspected of not being overburthened with religion, though they certainly have a great deal of it in the composition of their minds.

32. It has been remarked in all ages, that ignorant devotees have affected a greater show of religion, and fervour in their worship, than corresponded with their practice in the discharge of the moral duties ; and that persons better informed in the principles of true piety, with more enlarged ideas of the benevolence and providence of God, make less show of religious professions, but keep more strictly to the discharge of the religious and moral duties prescribed in the sacred scriptures. To a religious pride in the former, the imbecile state of their mind, joined to ignorance and a capricious temper, we may ascribe most of the secessions from the established church, to which they incline, from a desire of showing a superior degree of sanctity, and a discriminating judgment in matters of faith.

33. Indeed, it seems of little consequence, as to a future state, to what denomination of Christians a man may belong, provided he be sincere in his faith and in his worship ; for it is highly probable that his merit will be measured more by the degree of his sincerity, than by that of the sect
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to which he was formerly attached. It is therefore, perhaps, more meritorious to adhere to the established church, than to contribute, by example, to divisions among Christians; for no sect is without some exceptionable tenets, of human invention, which it is our duty to overlook. Such a conduct in good Christians, with a sincere practice of their religion, most undoubtedly humanizes the mind, disposes to social duties, prevents selfish acts of injustice, and fixes an amiable character on the possessor, which he is loath to lose. This reluctance to part with what must be esteemed the most valuable possession of man, a good name, keeps upright in their transactions all ranks of men, and has the most happy consequences among the inhabitants of every nation.

34. Religion and morality are so intimately connected, that I scarcely think it possible for either of them to exist separately, and independent of the other. I know it has been said, that some men are exemplary for their morals, who seem to have little or no religion; but this, on
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the strictest examination, I have ever found to be a mistake. In a preceding paragraph, I have endeavoured to give the character of such men: and here, it may be remarked, that, in all ages and nations, whatever may have been their religion, a sincere belief in it was ever conjoined with a strict regard to moral duties. As good morals are the foundation of those laws which God has prescribed for the regulation of our conduct, to himself, and to one another, every discharge of a moral duty ought to be considered as a religious act; for we thereby comply with the Divine will. From a constant habit of thinking and reasoning in this way, must originate all good laws, the melioration of a constitution, and patriotism; on all of which the happiness of the subject depends. Such reflections on the natural combination of religion and morality, founded on truth, and so congenial to the human mind, are sufficient to convince every thinking person, that religion and good morals are inseparable. In proof of which, it is universally known, that, if a person fails in
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the one, his practice in the other will proportionably decline. But, if this is the consequence of a relaxation of religion or morality to individuals, in a nation remarkable for its religious and civil establishments, what must be the condition of the people in a country where religion is but feebly established, and almost the only compulsitor for the performance of moral duties is the authority of the civil magistrate ! As the consequences of such an establishment are too obvious to need illustration, I shall proceed to the farther consideration of the culture of the minds of little children.

35. In the preceding paragraphs, I have endeavoured to show, that it is during infancy and childhood, that the strongest and the most lasting impressions of good or bad actions are made, especially if frequently repeated. But, as children in their tender years are so susceptible of good impressions, then must be the precious season of forming the mind to good habits, though it is perhaps too early for regular instruction. Hence

may be seen the necessity of making the best use of our time, in modelling, as it were, the mind to good dispositions during these early periods ; for they never can be recalled. Our solicitude and care, however, at this time, is for the most part amply rewarded ; for good impressions stamped on the mind, at that early age, sink deep, and are scarcely ever obliterated.

36. One of our first lessons, which should be begun in infancy, and carried on uniformly through childhood and youth, is obedience. But, to accomplish this with ease, let the necessity or propriety of our commands be apparent : for, if we are any way harsh, or unreasonable, in the mode of exacting obedience from children, they will either become refractory, or will call in question our judgment or our justice. ~ Indeed, this excellent quality of the mind, ought ever to be inculcated rather with gentleness and persuasion, than severity or correction, till it has become easy, from being habitual. When this
desirable

desirable end has been obtained, it is of infinite advantage to both parents and child; for, in the latter it not only induces a certain agreeable complacency of mind, but renders him docile to every good habit or instruction. By the introduction of this amiable quality, obedience, we with ease put a restraint on all those indulgences, which, if often practised, might be prejudicial to their health or their morals: this respects improper articles of diet, dangerous amusements, and dangerous companions. Besides, it gradually habituates and familiarizes him to that politeness and subordination, which is inseparable from good government, and that intercourse which man must have in society.

37. From ignorance, the want of just ideas of those excruciating feelings which may be inflicted on animals, and an unconquerable curiosity to view them in a state of torment, children are naturally cruel. This imperfection of the human mind, arising from an ardent desire of being strongly impressed with the sight of the most

afflicting scenes of torture and of death, is not peculiar to children, but common to men and women of weak minds, especially among the lower ranks ; and some men of better parts have a remarkable peculiarity of disposition for such scenes. It is this unaccountable curiosity, that carries such numbers, especially females of the lowest class, to gaze at every public execution, how cruel soever, or barbarous the spectacle. Farquhar appears to have been well acquainted with this strong propensity in weak minds to view scenes of distress, by making Scrub call out vehemently to Archer, ‘ Shoot him, Captain, ‘ shoot him ; for I never saw a man shot in all ‘ my life. ’ *

38. This universal passion for melancholy scenes among the lower ranks of the people, must arise from the want of that due attention of parents to children, in their tender years, to impress them with a just abhorrence of every thing that is cruel ; and when this defect of the
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* *Vide* Appendix to this Article, No. 2.

mind is not corrected at an early period, it remains unaltered through life. The feelings, however, of adults, and those of children, in viewing spectacles of cruelty, are very different. The former, on such occasions, gaze with sympathy and compassion, but, from a strong impulse of curiosity, cannot turn away their eyes; whereas the latter, in killing birds, frogs, cats, and dogs, seem void of sensibility for the pain they occasion. It is this want of feeling I wish to correct in children, by making them sensible, that every animal, when beaten, wounded, or put to death, must suffer the same excruciating torture and distress as they would in a similar situation. Let them be informed, that cruelty is the undoubted mark of a base and mean mind; that he who strikes, unprovoked, and wantonly, either man or beast, whom he knows dare not, or cannot return the blow, is always known to be a dastardly coward. Represent to them the disgrace that must always attend the character of a cruel person; but, above all things, teach them that as God is merciful to us, it is

our duty to be merciful to his creatures. Show them likewise, that cruelty is the most unpardonable of all crimes ; because it is without temptation, and therefore without excuse : that mercy is the most amiable attribute of God, and a virtue most becoming the situation of man ; because, by the sins which he so frequently commits, and the dangers with which he is constantly surrounded, he stands in need of it every hour. Whoever, therefore, can wantonly inflict pain on the meanest animal, or receive a diabolical pleasure from its sufferings, can have no claim to this blessing, nor to obtain that mercy to which he is a stranger. By such arguments, but more particularly by your example, keep up an abhorrence to every act of cruelty ; for by this culture of the mind, you commence in it that humanity which is so great an ornament to human nature.

39. In giving instruction for the education of youth, it is neither possible, without great prolixity, nor is it necessary, to dwell minutely
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on every qualification with which parents may wish their children to be endued. Justice, equity, self-denial, benevolence, frugality, charity, industry, and other qualifications necessary to the formation of the virtuous mind, are not to be taught by precept, but are gradually imbibed by children, from the conduct and conversation of those around them. When children have trespassed in any moral duty, immediate admonition or correction is not always advisable, unless the fault is of some magnitude, or a repeated offence. If a child is taken directly, and put in a state of accusation, his mind becomes disturbed and confused; in which condition he is incapable of those distinct ideas you wish to impress on his mind, of the nature of the crime; and of course our lesson is lost. If by overlooking the fault, and pretending ignorance of it, we should opportunely, but not immediately, take an occasion of passing a severe censure on a third person, supposed to have been guilty of the same trespass, I have always observed it to have a much better effect. For we can with

great composure, deliberately, and in their own language, explain to them the bad consequences to the character of the child or youth, from his atrocious deed of cruelty, falsehood, disobedience, injustice, laziness, want of charity; or other immorality. By steadily persevering in this method, we may bring them by slow degrees to adopt almost every virtue. In this way we practise the maxim which we ought ever to have in view, in the important subject of education, that whatever the child learns, whether it be knowledge or virtue, should appear to him his own voluntary act : for his mind must be the willing and active instrument, the teacher being only the hand that guides him.

SECTION VII.

ON WHAT THE GREAT DIVERSITY OF THE HUMAN MIND SEEMS CHIEFLY TO DEPEND.

40. EVERY one capable of thinking on the nature of the human mind, must be sensible that
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the exercise of its faculties is in the brain. It may not be so evident, unless to physiologists, that all the senses we enjoy, every action we perform, and the life and function of every part of the body, are derived from the same organ, by means of the nerves, those conductors of the principle of life, with which it is replete. From this short view of the brain, and its use in the living body, we must consider it as the animal itself; seeing that it is the seat of every faculty of the mind, and that the life, sensation, and motion of every part is derived from it.

41. Notwithstanding the similitude in the exterior figure of men to one another, there is such an infinite variety in their form, that we can readily recognise the individuals of our acquaintance, at a considerable distance, and before we can distinguish the features of their face. All men are by nature capable of considerable bodily exertions: some from their form are best suited for particular exercises, while others, from their muscular strength and dull intellect, are calculated

calculated for hard labour. These bodily endowments, I have formerly observed, may be increased, diminished, or greatly changed from their natural state, by education and habit. In like manner, though the brains of the human species are apparently similar in their external appearance and anatomical structure; yet in the particular figure and size of them, and perhaps in some other permanent properties with which we are unacquainted, they differ exceedingly from one another. From this inconceivable variety of what may be called the constitution of the brain, arises that immense difference in the capacities, genius, propensities, passions, and dispositions so observable among men.

42. The diversity in the external figure of men, and the corporeal qualities derived from that diversity, are not peculiar to our species, but common to the brute creation. We can even diversify the progeny of all domesticated animals, by associating together males and females of the same species, but of different figures, sizes,

sizes, and qualities. Their offspring often resembles the male, sometimes the female; but they more frequently partake of the nature and appearance of both. The same results take place in the human species; and children are often so like their parents, not only in their external figure, constitution, voice, manner, and qualities of their mind, but in corporeal defects and blemishes, that they, in many instances, may be compared to a second edition of the same work; and it will, in general, be found that they resemble most in the qualities of the mind, that parent whom they most resemble in features and external appearance. Though we cannot trace nature farther in her mysterious operations in the production of animals, yet these and similar facts are sufficient to lead us to the conclusion, that the brain, as well as the other parts of the body, will be formed similar to that of the parents. If this is the case, and I strongly suspect it to be the fact, then must those powers and qualities of the mind, the result of a particular formation and internal structure of the brain, likewise

likewise take place ; and from these circumstances most probably arises that infinitely varied character we observe in man.

43. The wisdom and goodness of Providence is eminently conspicuous in this great diversity of abilities, talents, and inclinations, for different pursuits and avocations, among the individuals of our race. The mutual dependence of mankind on one another in civilized nations, for assistance and support in a thousand ways, is the source of that harmony which usually subsists under every well regulated government. Wherever we observe nature to be uniform and constant in her plan, we must always suppose that plan to be of Divine origin ; and as an astonishing difference in the capacities of men has invariably subsisted from the creation of the world, we must ascribe this uniformity of nature to a Divine law, established for the good of mankind. This great superiority of mental endowments and talents, in a few, compared to the
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bulk of mankind, seems destined for the support of that subordination which has always subsisted among men, and which, when conducted with judgment and equity, contributes greatly, not only to the good order of societies and states, but to the happiness and security of individuals.

44. The different qualities of the mind being independent of education, derived from a certain form and constitution of the brain, paragraphs 40. 41, & 42., it may be alleged by some, that what nature has stamped with her seal, cannot afterwards be altered either by example or precept. This, in some measure, is true; but the instances in which passions rise so high, and propensities to vice are so strong, as to be in a great degree beyond controul, are very few, in comparison of the greater number, whose minds, though not the best disposed by nature to a virtuous life, yet are by proper culture capable of being brought to the practice of it. From the little I know of mankind, I am of opinion, that by much the great majority of men, by nature,

ture, incline to the practice of virtue. I found my belief on their approbation of good actions, and disapprobation of those that are bad; on their looking up to the good and pious man with reverence, and their hatred of the wicked.

45. These observations dispose me to conclude, that a life of virtue would be more general among men, were it not for bad example, and neglect in their early education. If the operations of the human mind were strictly watched, it would be found that the foundation of virtue and excellence among men, lies chiefly in a power of denying themselves such desires or enjoyments as equity and reason do not approve. Selfishness, or an unjust attachment to their interest, in their dealings with one another, I consider as the most universal foible among men. It is not the man who insists on his right, that can be called selfish; it is he who insists for more, who deserves that appellation: and as this originates in injustice, it ought to be corrected with great care and attention during childhood
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and youth. As it is not simply a failing, but borders on something criminal : so, it is our duty not only to point out the injustice of it, but to show the ignominy that must ever attend the character of a selfish person. Our lessons will always be more effectual to children, if we at the same time most earnestly inculcate its opposite qualities, liberality and benevolence ; and hold out to them, in the most desirable point of view, the estimation in which the benevolent man is held by the world.

46. The qualities of the human mind are not only exceedingly various, but exist in individuals with very different degrees of force. How various are the shades of vanity, pride, courage, magnanimity, generosity, cowardice, barbarity, that we observe among men ; and these often accompanied with different degrees of meanness, covetousness, avarice, profusion ; the passions of anger, revenge ; all shared out in such different proportions, and so compounded in a thousand different ways in individuals, as
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to form the various characters of men. He who is acquainted with the nature of composition, and with the immense variety of combinations that may take place, will readily and easily comprehend how an infinite diversity of tempers and dispositions may be thus formed.

47. Though some are observed to have nothing very particular in their character, yet we know them to differ in certain features of their mind from others ; while many have characters peculiar to themselves. From a singular composition of the mind, we sometimes meet with an eccentric genius, whose manner of thinking, reasoning, and acting, is often not only different from the rest of the world, but even from himself, in many instances. That this infinite variety of minds exists in the world, must be evident to every person conversant with mankind ; and it seems most probable, that the cause of this immense difference, must be owing to a brain endued with properties peculiar to each. Certain peculiarities of the mind, tending to the production

duction of a good or bad disposition, are not always so discernible in childhood as in youth ; but as soon as they are perceived, it is our duty to nurture, or to depress them, according to their tendency.

S E C T I O N VIII.

ON THE PASSIONS.

48. A LOVE of justice, benevolence, gratitude, friendship, patriotism, and other virtuous affections of the mind, which cannot with propriety be called passions, as they burn in the human breast only with a gentle, though constant flame, are, when properly directed, the great ornaments of the mind of man. Even anger, love, and other strong and irregular passions, when moderated by judgment, are of great benefit to mankind ; but when they rise above this mediocrity, and are by indulgence too frequently repeated, they never fail to hurt the cha-

acters of individuals, sometimes their health, and are always the bane of society. These passions are the gift of nature : and as a musical stringed instrument may be let down, or screwed up to any pitch, the tone of which may thereby be brought so low, or raised so high, as to render it incapable of harmonizing with other instruments ; so, the passions of the mind are pitched differently in different persons, and in the same person at different times, according to the degree of excitement given them. In some persons, they are by nature so weak, as to be insufficient for raising the soul to any great degree of enjoyment of the gentler passions, however great may be the cause of excitement. Such insipid beings may acquire the character of being innocent and harmless ; but from their incapability of any ardent pursuit in study or business, or of that degree of love and affection, which prompts to acts of benevolence and friendship, are seldom found to be either useful or amiable members of society. The reverse of this apathy is the constitution of the mind of many persons, especially females,

females, who, from a greater delicacy of body, and sensibility of mind, are more susceptible of high degrees of excitement, from agreeable or disagreeable impressions, than men.

49. Of the several passions with which mankind is endued, that of anger on any sudden attack of injury, injustice, or indignity, is apt to make its assault with greater promptitude, and in an instant to rise higher than any of the other passions, in the same space of time. This passion seizes us as it were by surprise ; and when it affects the mind with its highest degree of energy, we are during that time incapable of any serious reflection, being in a state similar to that of a person insane. This violent emotion seldom takes place, unless in those persons, who, to the great detriment of their character, and even of their interest, have from infancy accustomed themselves to indulge this passion without restraint. I mean not to deny a great constitutional difference of irascibility among men, arising from a greater or less irritability of sys-

tem (particularly of the mind) peculiar to each. This quick excitement of the mind, is remarkable in certain persons of both sexes, particularly in some females, perhaps from a greater delicacy of system : For it is to be observed, that when the body becomes, by the gout, or other diseases, more irritable than when in health, the irascibility of the person proportionably increases.

50. The consequences of this passion, when raised to a high degree, are more dangerous than those of any other affection of the mind ; for while it subsists, there is an almost entire suspension of reason and judgment, too often accompanied with acts of violence. In some men of quick sensibility and good hearts, the passion of anger is soon over, and they regret their infirmity ; but with others of a malevolent disposition, it continues longer ; and sometimes ends, most unhappily, in a desire of retaliation or revenge. This is the horrid unrelenting state of the mind in cowards, who prowl in the dark, fired with
revenge,

revenge, sometimes even to assassinate. Though the challengers to duels may be acquitted of cowardice, yet I am afraid it is too often a fixed desire of revenge that prompts them to those desperate resolutions. It rarely happens that a proper apology can be made for duelling, in which so many men of honour have unhappily been engaged ; I say, seldom, because I can suppose a situation in which a good man may be compelled to this barbarous vindication of his honour. But as this is to me a disagreeable subject, and foreign to my present design, I shall leave it to be considered by men of more genius, abilities, and leisure for such discussions.

51. The passion of anger, when moderately exercised, and in such a manner that reason and judgment remain undisturbed, may more properly be called an expression of our displeasure, and is of great benefit in society. By the judicious exercise of it, subordination and obedience are preserved, commands are executed, every species of work is more regularly carried on ;

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imposition,

imposition, injustice, and insult, are likewise prevented. Every one knows how heavily business would go on, were it not for the excitement of interest, and the exercise of authority. The discreet exertion of anger, even the affectation of it, to weak, ignorant persons, and children, is often of greater use than argument, which they sometimes cannot comprehend; and by it we frequently enforce the practice of every virtue.

52. Notwithstanding the extensive use of this passion, when kept within the bounds of moderation; yet it is certain, that when raised to an exorbitant height, nothing can rage with greater fury or destruction among men. This instinctive passion is more readily excited, and breaks out oftener in childhood and in youth, than at any other period of life; not only on account of the greater irritability of the system, but of reason and judgment being weak, in proportion to the nearness to birth. Childhood, unquestionably, is the season for our endeavours to suppress every unreasonable emotion

tion of anger. In the early age of children, when all the senses are a tiptoe, bursts of passion are frequent on the least provocation; and if they have not instantly their revenge, they express their resentment and dissatisfaction by crying. In this very irritable state of the mind, a feigned passion must be opposed to the real one, with such little arguments and soothing things as may conquer their resentment. Every one about the child should be directed, after the gust of passion is over, to point out the disgrace that must always attend the character of a passionate person. By a discreet and persevering attention of this sort, using a thousand little arguments, and sometimes sending him to Coventry, I am persuaded that, in most cases, very passionate tempers may be reduced to moderation. But, in many instances, the parents themselves obstruct the improvement of their children, from a conceit that they are too bold to be corrected; which, say they, would break their spirit. This is a deception, which, like all others originating in parental fondness and partiality, gains strength

strength by indulgence, and ruins the child; unless, fortunately, by his own good sense and resolution, he correct himself, in his maturer youth, by the good example of others.

53. A warm affection, and a strong attachment to one another, take place early among children; but the passion of love makes not its appearance till towards puberty. From this passion gradually increasing, a mutual inclination to civilities and acts of kindness, arising to a greater or less degree of affection, takes place between the sexes. From the principles of religion, and the strict practice of moral duties, so inseparable from piety, no cohabitation between the sexes can take place till after marriage; but as this sacred ceremony, which ought to take place early, is in many instances postponed for several years after puberty, acts of incontinence will frequently occur. Men, by the courtesy of almost every country, are permitted a moderate, though unlawful indulgence of this passion, with women of pleasure; and, provided they
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are in other respects good men, without much censure, or hurt to their reputation. But the consequences to women of character, committing such enormities, are dreadful : they are banished the society of all modest women, who shun them as they would the plague ; are despised by the men, though courted for sinister purposes ; and their reputation is for ever ruined. These direful effects exceed the punishment inflicted by the civil magistrate, for any crime less than murder ; which makes every virtuous woman shudder at the thought of being put in so horrid a situation. Besides, in a religious view, such criminal intercourse between the sexes is held to be sinful ; and certainly that crime must be of a heinous nature, that goes so far as to disturb the peace of a family, the whole circle of their relations and friends, and at last to end in the complete ruin of the guilty person.

54. Not the best system of ethics ever published, could guard women so effectually against the dishonourable attacks of men, as the dismal apprehension

apprehension of the ruinous consequences to their character, from detection of their guilt. Though religion in some instances may be, to certain pious persons, a defence of their chastity ; yet, in general, it would be found too weak a barrier against the insidious assaults of the strongest passion of nature, were it not for the dishonour, disgrace, and ignominy, that always attend the discovery of unlawful enjoyment. Notwithstanding the restrictions imposed on the indulgence of this ungovernable passion, by religion, pride of reputation, and terror of losing the inestimable possession of a virtuous character, yet there are persons of both sexes, who, throwing aside all restraint and regard to decency, become perfectly abandoned,

SECTION IX.

ON THE GENERAL CAUSES OF PROFLIGACY AMONG THE LOWER RANKS IN GREAT TOWNS.

55. WE have no reason to believe that profligates are so extremely numerous as is commonly reported. They are, in general, the offspring of mean parents, residing in great towns, where every species of wickedness rises to its greatest height; by whose bad example, every day exhibited, and an entire neglect of their education, the foundation of that base character is laid, which usually adheres to them through life. A few such characters are no doubt to be found in villages, and perhaps in every inhabited country on the globe; but wherever the populace are remarkable for such vicious habits, they will always be found to originate from the same causes, illiterateness, want of industry, immorality, and irreligion. To prevent these abuses, as far as can be done, Sunday schools,

schools, and charity schools, ought to be instituted in every parish ; to be visited at least once a month by the clergyman ; and the expence to be defrayed by the respective parishes, or Government. * But as these schools cannot be of use to the youth of both sexes past puberty, the best means of reformation for egregious immoralities, often repeated, is undoubtedly a Bridewell ; which ought to be established in every county. I mean not, that any person should be so punished for acts of incontinence alone ; it is only when accompanied with theft, or other immoralities tending to disturb the peace of society, that they should be confined to hard labour, till they give evident signs of repentance for their past conduct.

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* As Bishoprics, Deanries, &c. were anciently endowed with considerable domains, on the supposition, that the Bishops, Deans, and other dignitaries of the Church, were to be extensive in their charities to the indigent, it ought at least to be recommended to them, to fulfil this original intention of their being placed in such affluent circumstances, which they cannot more effectually, or more usefully perform, than by the establishment of charity schools.

56. It is certain that when women of a low rank lose their character for chastity, they, for the most part, become so abandoned to drunkenness, swearing, falsehood, theft, and cruelty, as to be expelled every society, save those of a similar character. Several causes appear to contribute to this high degree of profligacy in the lower ranks of the people, when so lost to all sense of shame or decency. These are, besides irreligion, already mentioned, gross ignorance, (for many of them scarcely know the letters of the alphabet), imbecility of mind, irresolution, strong passions, poverty, and want of industry. This last is perhaps the most inimical, of any of the unfortunate circumstances just mentioned, to a life of virtue; for, a strong dislike to labour, when joined to poverty, naturally tends to the introduction of every species of vice. This fact appears to have been well known to Hesiod, who says, ‘ God hath placed labour as a guard to virtue.’

57. Every man versant with the world, will, I believe, vouch for the truth of these observations ;

tions; such men likewise know, that women, somewhat above the lower ranks, who have been brought up in habits of industry, have had a tolerable education, and lived in a decent society, seldom fall into the other vices of the vulgar, just mentioned, even when they may have trespassed against the strict rules of chastity. Though we cannot look on these persons as saints, who have offended so egregiously against the principles of decorum and decency, yet they are often prevented from other immoralities, by the remains of a former sense of propriety, a degree of pride which disdains mean actions, and a strong desire to regain some part of their lost character; especially if they still retain an attachment to religion, and a resolution to labour for their maintenance.

58. It sometimes happens to these unfortunate young women, that they are instantly, on the discovery of their incontinence, banished the society of their relations and friends, and even slighted and despised by their parents themselves.

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This harsh usage frequently drives them to such a state of despair, as renders them regardless of the decent character they would have wished to maintain, had they met with a tender compassion and good advice. This unforgiving temper, towards their child or relation, must be considered as an act of cruelty, more reprehensible perhaps than even the crime they affect to hold in such abhorrence; especially if the unfortunate delinquent gives signs of repentance and amendment. * Indeed, the loudest and most severe censures against that natural infirmity which some women unguardedly fall into, proceed from those who have been equally criminal, but, being more fortunate in concealing their amours, class themselves with the most virtuous of their sex. These severe critics seem unwilling, like James the Second to the Quakers, and other sectaries, to grant the same indulgence they take to themselves.

* *Vide* Biography, in the New Annual Register for the year 1784, page 19.

59. Besides the more violent passions of anger and love, which, when excited to an ungovernable degree, are so destructive of human happiness, there are others apparently less ardent, which act more silently, but in their operations are more steady in sowing the seeds of corruption in the human heart. These are, selfishness, covetousness, envy, malice, and such other base qualities of the mind as never fail to degrade the possessor. They are usually accompanied with low cunning and deceit; and such men and women as are unfortunately haunted by these vile passions, are in general too confident of their address to hide their worthlessness from the world; for in this they are constantly deceived. They may, no doubt, conceal their failings for some time from strangers; but as their minds, from long habit, are frequently agitated by these passions, they readily discover to the circle of their acquaintance their real character.

60. Though such persons may possess the commendable qualities of industry and frugality,
yet.

yet they are always despised for those reprehensible infirmities ; and it obliges men, in every transaction with them, to be strictly on their guard. ' I am confident that, for the most part, such disagreeable characters might be prevented by a proper attention, and early correction of those children, in whom a tendency to these base qualities of the mind are perceived. I deny not, in some children, such natural propensities to mean and degrading habits, as may give the parents some trouble to correct ; but I am still of opinion, that with assiduity, and a strict attention to them, these evil propensities may be overcome.

SECTION X.

INDUSTRY AND OECONOMY LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE, AND ARE FAVOURABLE TO VIRTUE : IDLENESS AND PROFUSION HAVE CONTRARY EFFECTS.

61. THE remarks made in the preceding Section, from paragraph 53. to paragraph 58.,

on the imbecility of women, are no doubt applicable to every station ; even to those who, from their rank in life, cannot plead either poverty or ignorance in alleviation of their criminal conduct. But the persons I had then particularly in view, were the daughters of such tradesmen, mechanics, and small farmers, as are enabled, by the joint labour of the several members of each family, to live within their income. This last circumstance must be considered as essential to the happiness of every family : it introduces order, decency, the practice of virtue ; and by such œconomy they acquire credit and reputation. In taking a general view of mankind, it will constantly appear, that where the income of a family arises from labour, there is more contentment, independence, virtue, and happiness, than where they receive an equal sum from rent, salaries, or benefactions. People in this last situation are usually dissatisfied with their condition ; assume a pride unbecoming their station ; are lazy, extravagant in their ideas, and unhappy. In such a school, the children, particularly the female,

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males, being brought up in idleness, contract a reluctance to every species of regular labour, by which they might earn their subsistence. * Their education is, in general, finished by reading novels, which tends greatly to corrupt their minds ; for, by dwelling unavoidably too much on the immediate cause of the disgrace of a frail woman, they render her immorality too familiar to themselves.

62. Here seems to commence the lowest rank of those people, who wish to be thought exquisitely genteel, but who are despised by the rest of the world for their ignorance and folly. They most earnestly affect a refined

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* No opportunity should be lost in the correction of idleness ; for no foible or vice increases more by indulgence ; and its uniform reward is unhappiness. What a contrast to the unhappy situation of the idler, do we see in the diligent labourer, who lives innocently, comfortably, and independently ; because he lives by his industry ; which is the happy consequence of having early acquired the habit of being constantly employed.

taste in every thing ; pretend to exquisite sensibility ; to be sentimental, and extremely delicate in their ideas of propriety, decorum, and good breeding : they express themselves vehemently, but most absurdly, on these qualifications, though they possess them not in the smallest degree. From their vanity to make an appearance beyond their station, without the means of supporting it, they become troublesome suitors to their more industrious relations and neighbours ; and are always in poverty. This unhappy condition of the mind, which involves these persons in so much misery, must be ascribed solely to a neglect of those habits of industry, in which children ought early to be engaged : For nothing contributes more to a life of frugality, contentment, virtue, and happiness, than the constant employment of young people in the pursuit of something useful, whether it be instruction or work ; whereas, idleness and sloth, have effects on the mind, of a directly contrary tendency. It is evident, that if a woman, indolent in every thing save in the reading of novels,
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is handsome, and in poverty, she will become liable to such temptations as her weak resolution will seldom be able to resist: if young, even ugliness itself will scarcely protect her from insult. But, besides immorality, the natural consequence of laziness and extravagance, let us see what effects a life of mean dependence must have on the minds of both sexes.

63. The virtue which contributes most to a uniform hilarity of spirits, to that pleasant internal satisfaction of having done our duty, that renders a man independent in his circumstances, and in his mind, and leads to the practice of other virtues, is industry. To insure these advantages, industry must always be accompanied with a prudent œconomy, corresponding to the income of the person who aspires at independence. For, from the moment he incurs such debts as he is incapable of discharging, the desirable state of independence ceases. Being obliged to cringe to his creditors, or to the benevolent man who relieves

him from his difficulties, the vigour of his mind is diminished ; and he gradually sinks into a mean and abject situation. But I can suppose this to be the case of that person only who continues the practice of living beyond his income, and chooses rather to depend on the benevolence of others, than on his own industry, for support.

64. Goldsmith, in his *Citizen of the World*, expresses himself most emphatically on this subject. He observes, that ‘ few virtues have been
 ‘ more praised by moralists than generosity :
 ‘ every practical treatise on ethics tends to in-
 ‘ crease our sensibility of the distresses of others,
 ‘ and to relax the grasp of frugality. Philoso-
 ‘ phers, that are poor, praise it, because they
 ‘ are gainers by its effects ; and the opulent
 ‘ Seneca himself has written a treatise on bene-
 ‘ fits, though he was known to give nothing
 ‘ away.

‘ But among the many who have enforced
 ‘ the duty of giving, I am surprised there is none

‘ to

‘ to inculcate the ignominy of receiving, to show
‘ that by every favour we accept, we, in some
‘ measure forfeit our native freedom ; and that
‘ a state of continual dependence on the genero-
‘ sity of others, is a life of gradual debasement.
‘ Were men taught to despise the receiving obli-
‘ gations, with the same force of reasoning and
‘ declamation that they are instructed to confer
‘ them, we might then see every person in so-
‘ ciety filling up the requisite duties of his sta-
‘ tion with cheerful industry, neither relaxed by
‘ hope, nor fullen from disappointment.

‘ Every favour a man receives, in some mea-
‘ sure sinks him below his dignity ; and in pro-
‘ portion to the value of the benefit, or the fre-
‘ quency of its acceptance, he gives up so much
‘ of his natural independence. He, therefore,
‘ who thrives upon the unmerited bounty of
‘ another, if he has any sensibility, suffers the
‘ worst of servitude. ’

In speaking of the humiliating effects of re-
peated pecuniary obligations, on the mind en-

dued with sensibility, he says, the feeling mind no doubt suffers in this way: ‘ But there are
‘ some who, born without any share of sensi-
‘ bility, receive favour after favour, and cringe
‘ for more ; who accept the offer of generosity
‘ with as little reluctance as the wages of merit,
‘ and even make thanks for past benefits an in-
‘ discreet petition for new : such, I grant, can
‘ suffer no debasement from dependence, since
‘ they were originally as vile as was possible for
‘ them to be. Dependence degrades only the
‘ ingenuous, but leaves the sordid mind in pris-
‘ tine meanness. In this manner, therefore, long
‘ continued generosity is misplaced, or it is in-
‘ jurious : it either finds a man worthless, or it
‘ makes him so : and true it is, that the person
‘ who is contented to be often obliged, ought
‘ not to have been obliged at all. ’

This precious letter of Goldsmith, supposed to be from a father to a son, concludes thus:
‘ No, my son, a life of independence is gener-
‘ ally a life of virtue. It is that which fits the
‘ soul

‘ foul for every generous flight of humanity,
‘ freedom, and friendship. To give, should be
‘ our pleasure ; but to receive our shame. Se-
‘ renity, health, and affluence, attend the desire
‘ of rising by labour ; misery, repentance, and
‘ disrespect, that of succeeding by extorted be-
‘ nevolence. The man who can thank himself
‘ alone for the happiness he enjoys, is truly
‘ blest ; and lovely, far more lovely, the sturdy
‘ gloom of laborious indigence, than the fawn-
‘ ing simper of thriving adulation.’ *

65. The despicable, dependent state of those
sycophants, who wish to live rather on the boun-
ty of others, than on the fruits of their own la-
bour, is, almost in every case, owing to a neglect
of their education in childhood and youth.
It is training children up in sloth and laziness ;
instilling into their minds ideas of false pride,
and thereby subjecting them often to commit
mean actions ; allowing them too free an indul-
gence of their passions, which corrupts their
minds ;

* Letter XCVII. Vol. II. p. 150. London 1776.

minds ; and an utter neglect of those precious habits of industry, so favourable to virtue, that lead to vice and immoralities. In a family, so educated, there is commonly a strong desire for dress, furniture, and a table beyond their situation and circumstances : but with all this affectation of a station they are unable to support, the veil is too thin, and they are, of course, despised for their presumption and folly. Such persons are a perpetual pest to the more frugal families with whom they are connected ; the bane of tradesmen who deal with, or trust them ; and are in every way disagreeable members of society : all which evils might have been prevented, by a proper attention to their early education.

SECTION XI.

THE IMPLICIT FAITH OF CHILDREN, OF INFINITE ADVANTAGE IN FORMING THEIR MINDS TO GOOD DISPOSITIONS, AND IN FIXING THEIR RELIGIOUS AND MORAL PRINCIPLES.

66. THERE are two circumstances, which give parents an almost absolute command over their children, without their seeming to demand, or to use any authority to obtain it ; and are of infinite service in their instruction. The first is that love and gratitude, which naturally flow from the warm and affectionate hearts of children, on account of the parental care taken of them. They soon become sensible of their dependence on their parents, and look up to them for support, protection, information, and counsel, in all cases. Upon finding them able and willing to supply their wants, satisfy their desires, protect them from harm, guard them against danger, inform their understanding, and correct

correct their mistakes, their ingenuous hearts are filled with filial affection ; and, on many occasions, are touched with a lively sense of gratitude. These amiable affections are constantly kept up by repeated acts of kindness, and are always accompanied with a high degree of veneration for the superior wisdom and knowledge of their parents.

67. From this happy disposition in children, to love and revere their parents, and those discharging a parental duty, are derived several advantages : it inclines them to obedience, gives confidence, and induces docility ; which facilitate every species of improvement. But to insure these beneficial dispositions, a gentle authority must be uniformly maintained over children ; for, by caressing and fondling them too much, they acquire a repugnance to labour or instruction, and, of course, become foolish, stupid, and intractable. In proportion to the excess of endearments towards children, injudiciously bestowed, authority declines, industry lessens, indulgence
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and dissipation increase; and their education, under such circumstances, is shamefully protracted. By such indiscreet conduct, part of that respect and gratitude due from children to parents, and which, to be preserved, must be cultivated, is lost. This is an unfortunate circumstance to the children themselves; for, by the frequent exercise of these good qualities, they become habitual, and are a great embellishment to their future character; rendering them polite, grateful, and affectionate, to all with whom they may be connected.

68. The other circumstance, which gives to parents an unlimited influence over the minds of their children, is the implicit faith these last have, in every thing communicated to them by their parents. The memory of children is considerable, and gradually increases to puberty; but their judgment ripens not in proportion to the increasing strength of their memory. It is this imperfection, and consequent difficulty in the exercise of their judgment, especially in their younger

occasions, we must either say that they cannot comprehend the answer till they are older ; that it is one of the secrets of nature ; or confess our ignorance.

71. As the reasoning faculties and judgment of children are weak, and they implicitly adopt the opinion of their instructors, we should be extremely circumspect in inculcating only those principles or opinions which we wish them to receive. From this implicit faith, good or bad habits, enforced by precept and example, are fixed ; and even their religious principles take a cast similar to those of their instructors. In this way children are educated in the religion of the country where they are born and bred ; and they, in general, follow the sect to which their instructors are attached. From the public and private exercise of religious worship, the instruction of the clergy, and the example of grave and wise men, in the practice of devotion, the principles of the established system of religion gradually take firm root in the breast.

72. From the view we have just taken, of the manner in which children receive their moral and religious principles, we can have no difficulty in perceiving how the many different systems of ethics and religion are adopted, in the various regions of the earth. This fact is the strongest proof that can be given, of the necessity of forming the minds of children to good dispositions, as early as possible. For, from the imbecility of the minds of children in their early years, and their incapability of reasoning or judging for themselves, when the subject is in the smallest degree intricate, or difficult to comprehend, they must depend entirely on their preceptors for the opinions and principles they are to adopt. But a singularity in the human character is, that notwithstanding the opinions and principles received in youth may be false, foolish, and absurd, yet, in our riper years, with more mature judgment, we are often unwilling, perhaps unable, to rectify these mistakes. There are, no doubt, some men of capacity, genius, and reflection, in every country, who readily

renounce the false doctrines imbibed in their youth. But when these relate to religion, they are rejected with more repugnance than others of a nature less important ; and for the sake of the established religion, good and wise men rather overlook than openly renounce them.

73. This is the case with a few individuals only ; for the great body of the people, in every country, adhere to the religion of their forefathers, however absurd, with a reverence and piety that astonishes the more enlightened men of other nations. How does the good Christian smile, when he listens to the religious creed of certain nations of savages in Africa, and other parts of the world ? and with what compassion does he regard those unhappy beings for their gross ignorance and credulity in a religion composed of childish fables and ridiculous ceremonies ? But his surprise rises to a degree of astonishment, when he comes to be informed of the religion of the Chinese, Gentoos, Persians, and other nations of the East, supposed to have been in

A civilized state for thousands of years: From which we may conclude, that the principles of religion, received and adopted during childhood and youth, however inconsistent with reason, and common sense, continue, even in these civilized countries, to be the rule of faith and practice among the inhabitants for life. This strict adherence to the religion of their ancestors, must be partly owing to the stationary condition of their minds, for many ages, of which I have endeavoured to give some explanation in Section III., on Literature, &c., but more particularly to the false notion of the divine origin of their religion.

74. The cause which operates, in all countries and climates, with the greatest degree of force and permanency, is, the early impressions of our religious and moral duties, which become so fixed, by frequent repetitions and length of time, that they can scarcely afterwards be entirely obliterated. These early impressions, which I have so often endeavoured to inculcate,

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cate, is strongly recommended in the holy Scriptures ; which say, ‘ Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it. ’ * This instruction of Solomon, is not only applicable to the precepts and practice of religion and morality, but to industry, so essential to a life of virtue ; which, by time, and an easy but steady application of it to some useful end, becomes, fortunately, at last a habit, of the most happy consequences to the possessor, and to society : for the mind of man, ever active, is, while employed, constantly solaced with something new, or the hope of some future advantage, as the result of his labour. Neither can it be supposed, that the sleepy, sluggish man of indolence, can have the same enjoyment in life, with the active and industrious man ; for he either sinks into a slothful apathy ; or, if he becomes active, it is in dissipation, in pleasure, or in vice : for it will ever be found, that a lazy disposition is incompatible with the practice of true religion, and a life of virtue.

But

* Proverbs, chap. xxii. ver. 6.

But these endowments cannot be imparted to children, unless we preserve their love, affection, and confidence : We must likewise keep up that implicit faith they are so ready to grant, by adhering strictly to truth, and by a discreet, prudent conduct and discourse, while we are in their presence. I have likewise recommended a gentle authority over children, but of such a sort as to induce a cheerful obedience, so as to preserve their confidence, lest they should become cunning ; which, bordering on deceit, must ever be discouraged.

SECTION XII.

CONCLUSION.

75. As the happiness and prosperity of every country depend, in a great measure, on its population, and on the probity and industry of its inhabitants, our attention to the health, and to the forming of the minds of children, ought to

go beyond every other consideration to produce these good effects. If successful, by the foregoing, or similar instructions, in fixing good dispositions, and in familiarizing children to habits of virtue, till they are seven or eight years of age, it will not be difficult to carry on the same practice to the age of puberty. About this period, we may suppose the religious and moral principles of both sexes, to have acquired such a degree of steadiness, as not to subject them to any material change through the rest of their lives. Here, some allowance must be made for the ardent passions, the vivacity and fallies of young people, which they gradually abandon with the increase of their judgment, reason, and experience. Such are the beneficial consequences that may be expected, from this previous education of children, commenced early, and continued with attention, till habits of virtue, industry, and ideas of independence, are obtained. Though the plan proposed for this purpose, in the preceding pages, is general, and may be adopted by all ranks, yet, as it is chiefly intended for the middling

middling and lower classes of the people, I have avoided in it every instruction, or advice, that would occasion expence. This, however, must be understood to apply only to those families where no person is kept solely for the instruction of the children, and not to persons of condition, who may avail themselves of the assistance of a governess.

76. My mentioning the word governess, is because I prefer a well-informed, accomplished female, to any man, for the instruction of children, previous to their literary education. The address of women to children is much more engaging than that of men: Their more delicate, affectionate, and gentle manners, and language, are better suited to gain the love and confidence of their pupils, than the less soft address of the other sex. Women are more patient, have greater ingenuity in correcting the faults and mistakes of children, and are better calculated to assist them in their wants and amusements, than men. From the greater af-

fection and attachment which women in general have for children, we perceive how the task of managing and instructing them becomes so congenial to females. Indeed, it is unnecessary to enlarge on the superior qualifications of the fair sex, for the management and instruction of children, since this duty is universally, and with the greatest propriety, devolved on them ; and they are continually employed in the discharge of it, even till their children become their companions. My saying so much on this subject, is chiefly to inculcate, that in the previous instruction of children, in their moral and religious principles, and afterwards in the other branches of their education, greater attention ought to be bestowed on the females, who are to become the teachers of others, than is commonly done. For, besides the possession of those amiable dispositions, characteristic of the sex, the source of our greatest happiness in this life, they are more capable, under proper instructors, of attaining every species of useful knowledge, than is commonly believed. Women, however, being

ing endued with a quicker sensibility than men, sometimes err in endeavouring to excite in their female pupils a greater degree of compassion for persons in apparent distress, than the necessity of the case, for the most part, requires. Their lessons are given, on this head, in too pathetic and forcible a manner, to be of real use; for the impressions made, are often too strong to enable young persons to discern between the real and improper objects of their benevolence. Delicate feelings, when natural, or acquired by education and good example, are amiable; when possessed in a high degree, they render the mind imbecile, and impede the judgment; and when affected, they indicate selfishness, and are most disagreeable.

77. As children learn their language from their parents, and companions, it would, I am afraid, be a fruitless task to attempt any instructions for a correct pronunciation among those of the lower ranks. For the same reason, it is next to impossible to correct a provincial dialect

dialect, or pronunciation, in children, who, from the example of every one around them, are in the constant practice of speaking the language of the district where they reside. But there are certain imperfections in pronunciation, not peculiar to any county, but common to children in general ; as, lisping, stuttering, and other disagreeable interruptions in their speech, acquired by imitation, which, as soon as observed, ought to be carefully corrected. Defects in pronunciation can be rectified only by a frequent repetition, by the child, of the words in which he errs ; obliging him frequently to look on the mouth of the teacher, that he may perceive exactly how the mouth and tongue are moved, to produce the desired articulation. In stuttering, in hesitating at the end of every two or three words, and in frequently drawing in their breath, as if they were sucking up their saliva, the most effectual cure is to command silence, not only in the child, but in every one about him, till he can pronounce fluently, and without hesitation ; but, above all things, he should be kept from conversing

conversing with such as labour under those defects. After the child has been apparently cured of these vile habits, it requires the utmost attention in the parents to prevent the return of them. This cannot be accomplished while he is permitted to associate and converse with those from whom he caught these vulgar defects. But when the child is brought to speak easily, and without hesitation, then is the time to ridicule his former disagreeable manner in a third person ; for children bear as little to be laughed at for foibles as adults. They even come to be amused with the satire, and join in the laugh with some degree of exultation, and mimicry, against the defect, of which they have been just cured.

78. Persons of higher rank, who enjoy every advantage that money can procure for the education of their children, ought, in the first place, to be particularly attentive to a correct pronunciation of their vernacular language. This in conversation is most agreeable, and in public speaking indispensable ; on which account,
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our attention to a chaste pronunciation, ought to commence as early as we may suppose the child to have distinct ideas of sounds, and before he can speak. His nurse, therefore, ought not only to be free from the defects mentioned above, but should have a correct and pleasant pronunciation. It must, however, be confessed, that a pure language is scarcely to be expected from the nurse, unless she shall, fortunately for the child, be the mother. When she speaks a good language, it is not only a great advantage to the child in attaining a correct pronunciation, but in acquiring a genteel phraseology and address. For it is chiefly to the mother, and to other well-bred attentive females, we are indebted for the formation and improvement of our language. It is said, that the great eloquence and address of the two Gracchi with the populace in Rome, was owing to their being educated under their mother Cornelia. Some letters of hers were extant in the time of Cicero, who says, that from them it appears, *Filios non tam in gremio*
educatos,

educator, quam in sermone matris. * It is likewise well known, that the education of Augustus Cæsar, in infancy and youth, was chiefly carried on by his mother Accia.

79. From the great attention that must be paid to children, in bathing, dressing, and undressing them ; in carrying them abroad, preparing their diet, assisting in their amusements, and in the discharge of various other offices, the whole of which is usually devolved on maid servants, great circumspection ought to be used in the choice of them. If they are orderly, cleanly, honest, good-natured, and cheerful, we may overlook a small degree of vulgarity in their language, in which the children will sometimes copy them ; but this is easily corrected by an attentive mother. When children begin to speak, their little prattle of half or misplaced words, is so amusing that we scarcely can refrain from repeating them after their manner ; but the sooner and oftener we correct them, the faster

* Cicero de Claris Oratoribus, cap. 58.

er will they advance in a proper pronunciation. In speaking to children, servants in this country deal much in diminutives; for they seldom or ever call a table, spoon, a dish, the face, the nose, or any thing else, by its proper name; but say, table, spoonie, dishie, facie, nosie, &c. in which they ought to be constantly corrected.

80. However successful we may be with our lessons on religion, morality, and industry, and in rendering the application of them easy and familiar to children, yet it is evident that their education is incomplete without reading, writing, and arithmetic. These are the most important branches of literature; because they are the most useful in every line of business, improvement, or amusement, in which man may be engaged: they are obtained at a small expence, and may, with proper attention, be taught to the meanest capacity. * Persons of condition

* Though I here recommend reading, writing, and arithmetic, to be taught to such of the children of the lower classes

condition usually send their children to school early, to be instructed in such branches of learning as suit their tender years. Too early an education

classes of the people, as can readily obtain them, yet I am sensible that in an education on this plan mistakes are sometimes committed. This happens now and then with certain females, whose education has been too long protracted, or carried farther than was consistent with their situation in life; which seldom fails of rendering them conceited, averse to labour, and even tends to form such characters as are described in Paragraphs 61. & 62. Some men, eminent for their abilities and learning, * observing the bad effects of an overdone education in both sexes, among the lower ranks, have rashly adopted an opinion, that reading and writing to the vulgar were not only unnecessary, but hurtful to society and themselves. But why should the misconduct of a few individuals deprive the industrious poor of those advantages, which long experience has proved to be of such general benefit, even in the lowest condition of life? This negative on reading and writing, the only means of useful information, favours too much of the ancient practice of the Church, the printing the Bible in Latin, and practising other arts to continue ignorance among the lower ranks, which neither improved their morals nor their piety.

* Sketches of the History of Man, vol. II. B. 2. p. 56.

education for the generality of children, must always be improper; but to suffer them to run about wild, in constant dissipation and idleness, for so many years, as is prescribed by some fanciful men, I have ever thought exceedingly absurd. For, as we are governed by habit, let us not lose the advantage of good habits, by neglecting such easy lessons as may bring the child by degrees to read with ease his vernacular language.

81. Before we can ascertain the precise time at which children should be taught their alphabet, and their first lessons in reading, some attention must be paid to the capacity of each individual. This will be found very different; and the time of commencing their lessons must correspond with the degree of capacity in each. Were we to mention any particular time for the reading-school, between five and six, or about six years of age, would perhaps best suit the generality of children. Some may, no doubt, be taught sooner with advantage; and there are
very

very few at that age, whose capacities are so mean as not to comprehend, by the least attention, and frequent repetition, their first lessons at the reading-school. Several mistakes, however, are committed at the commencement of the education of children; from not attending sufficiently to the different degrees of capacity with which they are endued. This arises chiefly from some sprightly children, of quick parts, being brought to read tolerably well at five years of age, which often induces parents who are partial to their children, and over-rate their abilities, to push on prematurely their education. But every man of observation and experience, in the education of children, must acknowledge that any attempt to teach children before they can comprehend, in some degree, the nature, meaning, and tendency, of their task, only serves to render them dull, stupid, and extremely reluctant to their lessons. Their not making an equal advancement with other children of the same age, but of quicker parts, is generally ascribed to heedlessness, and a love of play; but

in reality it is the want of that capacity for their task, which they acquire not in less perhaps than a year after.

82. The same way of reasoning applies still more particularly to the children sent too early to the grammar school, many of whom, of mean capacities, are little more than seven years of age. The consequence of this is, that other boys, with a more distinct comprehension, better memory, and a year or two older, get on so fast, and so much beyond the powers of those in the lowest form to attain, that these last become incapable of getting one lesson perfectly. This disparity becomes every day more apparent; and from the lower part of the class not understanding their lessons, they become inattentive, for which they are often, but improperly, corrected; for, how can they give attention to what they do not comprehend? From this incapability of attaining to any tolerable knowledge of the principles of the language, contained in the Rudiments and Grammar, and repeatedly exemplified in
every

every Latin author, we must consider the years consumed by these unfortunate boys, with little or no improvement at the grammar school, as so much time lost. Even a small proficiency in the language, is of little use; for unless a young man can read Latin with some ease, he will never read it for his amusement; and in a few years, the little he learned is almost totally forgotten. To prevent, as far as possible, such an unfortunate situation with children, whose parents have resolved on giving them a learned education, it would be proper, not only to give them the assistance of a private preceptor for six, eight, or twelve months, before they are put to the public school, but to continue this aid till they are tolerably versant in the language. For such boys as are intended for a learned profession, and to become men of the world, I certainly prefer a public to a private education; but how boys ought never to be sent to a grammar school till they are eight, nine, or ten years of age. I mention these several periods, that an allowance may be made for different capacities;

but the boy who cannot be taught Latin at ten years of age, ought not to enter on that study, nor should he be bred to a profession. If in this paragraph I have passed beyond the limits I proposed to myself in this Essay, my sollicitude to rectify the mistakes that are often known to take place at the commencement of the study of the Latin language, must plead my excuse.

83. It is a recommendation in favour of the instructions humbly offered in the preceding pages, that they may be prosecuted, as has been already observed in Paragraph 75., without any expence except that of time, care, and attention ; and, though chiefly intended for the lower and laborious classes of the people, as the most numerous, and in a collective body the most useful members of every commonwealth, yet they are applicable to all ranks. But supposing us successful with our children, and that we have brought them to that desirable state we wish them to attain, in good habits, good manners, with a veneration for truth, and things sacred ;

sacred ; yet all our instructions and solicitude will scarcely be found sufficient to fix these good qualities, through their riper years, without farther assistance. This aid must be derived from a gradual elucidation of the truth, and propriety of the principles on which their early education has been founded, by reading on religious and moral subjects. This practice contributes considerably to confirm young persons in their religious and moral duties : it diffuses a general information, and decency of manners, among the youth of both sexes ; which shows the necessity of their being early taught to read. The beneficial consequences of reading commences with their first lessons ; for schoolmasters, or those discharging that duty, seldom fail to make some commentary on every passage read, containing a religious or moral precept, or other circumstances deserving of praise in the conduct and behaviour of persons to one another. In this way, the minds of children are gradually improved, and good impressions are made, that continue for life ; but the strongest proof that can be given, of the advantages of a previous educa-

tion of children, and their being afterwards taught to read, will be, to contrast the decent manners of these children, with the character of those who have been neglected in both these particulars. These last are, in general, rude in their manners, vulgar in their language, grossly ignorant, idle and dissipated; often stupid, always intractable; active in nothing but their amusements and their vices; and, growing up in these vile habits, are ever in poverty: many of them become vagabonds and thieves, especially in great towns; for in the country, with extreme ignorance, their manners are more innocent.

84. There is, perhaps, no circumstance that can come under the consideration of the Legislature, that merits more its serious deliberation, than the means that may be thought best suited to produce a reform in the corrupt and depraved manners of the vulgar. Could this be effected, it is my firm belief, that it would have more beneficial consequences in the preservation of the police, the establishment of good order in society,

society, and would promote more effectually industry among the lower ranks, than all the sermons that could be preached, or penal laws that could be enacted. It is often a dread of the expence, which legislative bodies and societies apprehend must attend the establishment of certain reformatations and improvements, that deters them from the execution of the necessary plans for these purposes. But in the erection of charity schools, for the education of poor children, the expence must be very inconsiderable, whether defrayed by Government, or by the respective parishes; and not equal to many taxes, which, taken singly, are scarcely felt by any individual. *

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* In many conversations I have had with the teachers of charity schools in the country, these good men uniformly agreed in an assertion, that the children who were taught gratis were often absent, sometimes for several days, from the school; but that the children whose parents paid a small gratuity for their being taught, attended more regularly, and were seldom absent. The parents of the former, from

85. The advantages that would arise to the public, from such a parental care of destitute children, can scarcely be estimated. Like a bounty given to an infant manufactory, it would in time be repaid tenfold by the superior piety, morals, and industry of the rising generation. From the increase of probity and industry among

an idea that the education of their children might be brought up at any time, suffered them to spend their time in play and idleness, by which their education was protracted, and sometimes totally neglected. But the latter, from a desire of having a pennyworth for their money, and to put an end to the expence of the education of their children, as soon as possible, obliged them to attend regularly. The consequence of this was, that many of these children paying not above a penny a week, were made good English scholars, and acquired not only a tolerable hand in writing, but became proficient in arithmetic. To remedy this neglect of the children taught gratis, it may be extremely proper to oblige the parents to pay per advance, for each child, one shilling per quarter, to be returned at the end of that period, on condition that the child has given a regular attendance, deducting from it one halfpenny, or a farthing, for every day, or half day's absence from the school, unless from indisposition.

mong the lower ranks, the number of beggars in the streets, and poor in the workhouses, who are so great a burthen on the public, would proportionably diminish. For men and women, bred to habits of industry, usually acquire some ideas of independence, and a pride that disdains the disgraceful condition of a beggar, and the mean situation of people in workhouses, to whom they affix a certain degree of ignominy. There are, no doubt, certain persons, whose dispositions, by nature, are so mean and vile, and others who, by a wretched education, have become so despicable, as to disregard every appearance of decorum or decency of conduct, provided they can be indulged in idleness and vice. This is the real character of most of our beggars ; and I am sorry that it includes so great a majority of those who are to be found in every workhouse. The certainty of this fact, and there are few that will dispute the truth of it, makes it evident, that nearly all beggars in the streets, and above two thirds of the poor in the work-

workhouses, owe their poverty, and distressed situation, to a life of sloth and immorality.

86. It is to prevent, as far as can be done, this miserable state of so large a proportion of the human race, by an early education, that I wish most earnestly to recommend the universal establishment of charity schools, and early apprenticeships, to such of the youth as cannot be industriously employed at home. But it must always be understood, that as soon as children are brought to read currently any English book, and before they are bound apprentices, they should be taught writing and arithmetic, the most useful branches of literature to which they can attend. In this last, it may be sufficient to teach them the first four rules; but if, during their apprenticeship, they should discover genius, or a strong inclination for the higher branches of arithmetic, then they ought to be taught them, especially if they are judged necessary for the business or employment in which they are to be engaged.

87. In regard to females, besides the general instructions for their education, in common with boys, there are certain employments, in which they are exclusively engaged, as spinning, washing, and dressing of linens, &c. usually taught them at home; but for needle-work, in which they should be made as perfect as circumstances will permit, a school should be instituted. When children just beginning to walk, can be committed to the charge of girls of ten, eleven, or twelve years of age, it is to these last an excellent piece of education, as it not only renders them familiar to the dressing and undressing of children, but gives them a neatness in making up the different articles of their apparel. Girls are not always fond of this employment; but when they are, which is often the case, especially when properly encouraged in it, they become orderly, and handy at every kind of work; and, by teaching their little pupils the lessons they themselves have been taught, they acquire an attention, a steadiness and habit of thinking, which are to them of infinite advantage.

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This method of educating the younger children, is known to have been practised with success in many families, where there were more virtue, industry, and contentment, than wealth; by the eldest female undertaking to teach the rest, and, when the next of age became sufficiently qualified, then the same task devolved on her. The beneficial consequences that must accrue from a judicious and attentive prosecution of the plan, here proposed, for the education of poor children, and carried on to its full extent, will be much greater than could be expected from a superficial view of it. For, besides the advantages already mentioned, arising from the decreased number of beggars in the streets, and poor in the workhouses, we might reasonably expect the poor-rates to diminish proportionably, the police to be better preserved, crimes to be less frequent, and that arts and manufactures would increase.

88. Among the numerous sects of Christians, with which this island abounds, the good effects

effects of a sedulous attention to piety, morals, and submission, are most conspicuous in the children of Quakers. This industrious, peaceable, and loyal people, appear much interested in the character of their sect, for industry, probity, and good morals; and by their attention to one another, mutual admonitions, and examples for their conduct, they, with few exceptions, maintain a reputation for these good qualities, that seem to characterize their sect. The foundation of this general good character is laid in their youth; for, from the education they have received, and bestow on their offspring, they certainly acquire a superior degree of address and firmness in subduing the passions and impetuous desires of youth, which they seem to accomplish with composure, and without severity, but chiefly by their good example. As, in this land of freedom, and religious toleration, the children of Quakers must meet, at the public schools, Christians of every denomination, we must ascribe their peculiarity of character to their domestic education.

89. From the principles and practice of this sect, their children are not taught to dance, or to sing, from both of which they are restrained during life, as tending to introduce a levity of disposition, which they sedulously avoid. Neither are Quakers permitted to attend balls, masquerades, concerts of music, playhouses, or any other public assemblies of amusement. Cards, dice, and every other game, whether of chance or of art, are strictly prohibited by them; all which have a tendency to idleness and dissipation; and every temptation to these, they are severely enjoined to guard against, with the utmost solicitude. Such strictures on the natural dispositions and passions of men, must undoubtedly have a tendency to the formation of that peculiar character so uniformly observed amongst Quakers. So severe a discipline of the mind, has other effects, not quite so obvious to the generality of mankind: it, for example, disqualifies every Quaker from filling any place in the administration, or active office in the state; nor could any nation subsist, among the inhabitants of
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of which resistance is reckoned unlawful. However Quakers may be renowned for their probity and fair dealings, they are seldom remarked for the possession of great genius, or the faculty of invention. These are smothered, or greatly depressed, by the powers of the mind being fettered in the prosecution of those pleasures and amusements, which are so natural to man, when in a state of freedom. Too frequent a repetition of these enjoyments is, no doubt, reprehensible, as it tends to dissipation and idleness; but their moderate use is harmless, and enlivens the common intercourse of men.

90. From this view of the manner in which the minds of young Quakers are formed, chiefly from the example of parents and relations, their superior docility to industry and morality, is the less surprising. The conduct and practice of a Quaker, in what he apprehends to be his religious duties, are too similar to that of a hermit, ever to become general; and, for the same reason, we shall always find their societies
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in every country to extend only to a few individuals. No Christian sect, with which I am acquainted, bestows greater pains in keeping up to the spirit and principles of their doctrine, among their brethren, than the Quakers. If any one of them is guilty of an immoral act, he is privately or publicly admonished ; on confession, and proofs of repentance, the brethren forgive, or overlook the fault ; but if it be of so heinous a nature, as to be inconsistent with the character of a good man and a Christian, he is then read out of the society, and is no longer a member. The same punishment is inflicted on the person who becomes bankrupt ; for it is the duty of every one whose affairs come to be involved, to lay his books, if he has any, before the society, and to make as clear a statement of his situation as in his power. If he can be supported, it is done by the brethren ; and, until he comes round again, his affairs are put under trustees : but if so involved in debt, that no aid can enable him to discharge the just demands against him, he is read out of the society. He
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may wear the dress of a Quaker, and perhaps sometimes pay an unwelcome visit at divine service ; but he is deprived of every privilege belonging to the sect. This is similar to the degradation of a Gentoo from his cast ; which is the highest punishment, to him, that can be inflicted in this world.

91. Our not meeting with Quakers in work-houses, or begging in the streets, proceeds from this society maintaining their own poor. It is certain that they are rarely found in jails for debts, seldomer for trespasses ; and there are fewer of them convicted of capital crimes, than of any other sect of Christians, which is a great recommendation of their domestic education. But these facts must be partly ascribed to their having been previously expelled the society for the commission of similar offences. It must, however, be confessed, that notwithstanding the institution of the wisest plans, for the education of children and youth, some few

there will be, whom we cannot restrain from vicious habits ; and the best place for such incorrigible beings, is a bridewell, a workhouse, or the grave.

APPEN-

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

ON THE INCREASE OF POPULATION FROM INOCULATION.

THERE is no circumstance that could increase the population of this country, in an equal degree, with the introduction of an universal practice of inoculation for the small-pox, among the lower ranks of its inhabitants. In Scotland, above one sixth part of the children die that are seized with the natural small-pox, in the most favourable situations ; but where great attention and skill are exercised towards the sick, in this distemper, not above one in seven is lost. In other places, as Dumfries, Glasgow, Perth, and

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in general in the environs of large rivers and lakes, especially when unskilfully treated, there dies about a fifth, and sometimes a much larger proportion, of those that are seized with this loathsome disease; whereas not above one in four hundred die of inoculation with the matter of the natural small-pox.

This fact is fully ascertained from the records of the Pancras Small-pox Hospital in London; for from an accurate account of their success from September 1746, to the beginning of the year 1799, there died not, of inoculation, above one in four hundred. Along with this information, taken from their books, I received a separate paper, dated, Bury Court, St Mary-Aix, February 1799, and signed by the secretary Anthony Highmore, in which is the following report: ‘ During the last year, two thousand five hundred and eighty-seven persons, of both sexes, have been relieved by this institution: two hundred and sixty of whom laboured under the natural small-pox: those who receive
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‘ the blessing of inoculation consisted of five
‘ hundred and seventy-five, chiefly adults, all
‘ of whom recovered ; and also one thousand
‘ seven hundred and forty-seven infants and
‘ children, under five years of age, of whom
‘ only three died. ’

The above well authenticated account of the success of the medical gentlemen, at the Pancras hospital, in the usual way of inoculating, is given, that it may be compared with the result of the vaccine inoculation, which has almost everywhere superseded our former practice. This blessed discovery, known for some time in Germany and in England, has been followed by the most happy and wonderful success in both countries. For the practice of inoculation with matter taken from pustules on the nipples of cows, induces a disorder, which can scarcely be called a disease, and is productive of all the good effects of inoculation from the natural small-pox, on which account it cannot be too strongly recommended. If any have died, by this new method

of freeing us from the danger of the small-pox, I know not how they can be estimated ; for among the many thousands who have been inoculated in this way, I have not heard of one death. The vouchers for this incomparably milder, and more successful practice, than with the matter of the natural small-pox, are, Dr de Carro, Vienna ; Mr Stromeyer, Hanover ; Dr Woodville, of the Small-pox Hospital, London ; Dr Pearson, London ; and several reputable medical practitioners in Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh. But our greatest obligations are to Dr Jenner, of Gloucester, who, with indefatigable industry, and some expence, has brought the vaccine inoculation to be almost universally adopted. Indeed his merit, in this way, as well as the great benefit to be derived from this milder species of infection, became so conspicuous, that a considerable remuneration has been deservedly bestowed on him by Parliament. That the beneficial effects of this new practice may be extended as far as it can be done, our clergy ought, perhaps, to be instructed to recommend it, in the
strongest

strongest manner, twice a year from the pulpit. In the discharge of this duty, those good men will not certainly fail in pointing out the great advantages that must accrue to individuals, and to the power and population of the country, from embracing this salutary mean of preservation, which Providence has been pleased to point out.

No. II.

ON THE EFFECTS OF TRAGICAL REPRESENTATION ON THE MIND, COMPARED WITH THOSE THAT TAKE PLACE IN VIEWING REAL SCENES, OF DISTRESS.

THE strong propensity among men for fights of agony and horror, is intimately connected with that remarkable passion, which in all ages has subsisted so universally in every civilized country, for theatrical representations of tragedy.

Though the feelings, with which men are impressed, are of the same kind in both cases, yet they differ essentially from each other in several particulars. In gazing on the public execution of criminals ; in viewing, in tumults and quarrels, the maiming or murder of an innocent individual, or in contemplating the domestic distress of a virtuous family, who suffer from sudden, unexpected deaths, from poverty, diseases, or other miseries, there is nothing to divert the full exercise of our compassion for the sufferer. On such occasions, all our ideas are of the melancholy cast, heightened by the strongest expressions of sympathy in the spectators, without a circumstance to alleviate our distress, unless what may arise from a desire of relieving the sufferer, by such benevolent acts as are in our power. These scenes are remembered for some time with great uneasiness, by persons susceptible of strong feelings, and in certain cases not without some degree of horror ; and though this excess of sympathy gradually diminishes by time, yet the recollection of these situations of distress

distress is through life accompanied with disagreeable sensations in the mind.

How different are the feelings of an audience, even of those the most susceptible of strong impressions, during the representation of a tragedy. The audience, especially the females, are pleased in proportion as they are affected; and never are so happy as when by tears, sobs, and cries, they give vent to their sorrow, and relieve their heart, swoln with the tenderest sympathy and compassion. It is this circumstance, of being wrought up to the highest degree of sympathy, for virtue in distress, that carries so many of both sexes to the theatre, where they appear to enjoy a melancholy pleasure, proportioned to the degree of illusion that takes place in their mind of the reality of the sufferings exhibited. But the more the hero, or heroine, of a tragedy appears to suffer, and the more dismal the catastrophe, the higher is the satisfaction and delight of the audience in seeing it well represented. Aristotle considering the tragedies that had a fatal or fortunate

fortunate termination, observes, that those which ended unhappily always pleased the people, and carried away the prize, in the public disputes of the stage, from those that ended happily.

In mankind there is the strongest propensity for sights of the most cruel distress in others, while they themselves can be placed in a situation free from all hazard of suffering, except from sympathy. This security, enjoyed in the theatre, is so complete as, in most cases, to give the judgment and imagination their free exercise in contemplating the play, and propriety of action in the performers. Before the play commences, the agreeable conversation of friends, and the general hilarity of a full house, dispose the audience to a pleasant expectation of the performance ; and the music is, in general, adapted to bring our minds in unison with the emotions to be excited by the representation. * At the commencement of the
play,

* In these entertainments there is a fluctuation of the passions, accompanied with other affections of the mind, which

play, we are perfectly conscious of our real situation ; we know we are in the theatre ; and about to be entertained with a fictitious representation of distress. But as the pleasure depends chiefly

I shall afterwards have occasion to mention. But as sympathy acts a chief part in producing that melancholy pleasure we enjoy in the theatre, it may not be improper, before we proceed farther, to consider its particular operation on the mind. Sympathy, pity, and compassion, are nearly allied to one another, and are expressive of an instinctive passion, inseparable from the human mind, but are excited with greater or less degrees of force, according to the dispositions and constitutions of individuals. This passion is always attended by a peculiarly attractive power towards the object of it, arising from an irresistible desire to favour the miserable or unfortunate. The exercise of sympathy, like that of friendship, and the other social passions, is always accompanied with a greater or less degree of pleasure, even in scenes of great distress, unless when this passion is obstructed or suffocated by avarice. Sympathy is of a nature so soothing, so benevolent, as to raise in the breast an internal satisfaction and pleasure, sufficient to alleviate, in a great measure, the pain we feel for the distressed. From this double operation of grief and sympathy, arise those various states of the mind, produced by scenes of real distress,

or

chiefly on the degree of illusion, into which the mind is drawn, of the reality of the representation ; so its effects on the audience will be exceedingly various, from the different degrees of intensity in the sympathetic feelings with which individuals are affected. This sympathy, in some, never goes so far as to make them forget that the representation is a fiction, or to prevent the full exercise of their judgment in estimating the merits of the performers ; while others have their minds so deeply affected, as to be brought into a conviction of the reality of the scenes. This
illusion

or the representation of them, agreeable or disagreeable to the spectators, as the one or the other affection prevails. Though in this imperfect attempt to explain the nature of sympathy, we must perceive it to have a soothing and an agreeable effect on the mind ; yet this is always found to be inadequate to the suppression of the pain we receive from the sight of real misery. Neither is sympathy alone, whatever some ingenious men may allege to the contrary, sufficient to keep up that pleasing melancholy state of the mind, we enjoy during the representation of a tragedy, as shall be shown in the subsequent part of this paper.

illusion usually commences with a complete consciousness of our real situation, but advances, by degrees, to an almost complete forgetfulness of it, till the shifting of the scenes, the music, or some other interruption to the play, rouses us from that absorption in thought, and ecstasy of sympathy. Though this state of the mind argues great merit in the performers, yet it must be remarked, that some females, susceptible of strong feelings, and delighting in violent emotions, court the approach of sympathy, till, by this indulgence, they are overcome by fainting.

Here the sympathetic affection is brought to the highest degree of which it is capable, by a fictitious representation: it is even equal to what the mind suffers from the sight of real misery, or death, but is not so permanent; for, on recollecting the fiction, the sympathy with its effects gradually vanish. Though such a state of the mind must be considered as painful, and extremely distressing, yet when the representation

presentation falls but a little short of producing these disagreeable consequences, it is to the generality of the audience a high entertainment. For the soul, being roused by passion and charmed by eloquence, is seized with the most lively and strong emotion, which is altogether delightful. We are pleased with the justness of character and sentiment, amused with the gradual discovery of the fable, as the play advances, and with the pathetic narration of virtue in distress, accompanied with a suitable action and modulation of voice; which help to strike the imagination and heighten the pleasure we receive from tragedy. ‘A virtuous man,’ says Seneca, ‘struggling with misfortunes, is such a spectacle as may give pleasure to the gods.’ To the gods it may; but not to sympathetic mortals: for, in real misery, there is nothing to alleviate our sympathy, or divert our attention from contemplating the unhappy state of the sufferer; which is always painful, and often shocking. But we may, and do feel an ecstatic pleasure at the judicious representation of

a well written tragedy, from the half consciousness of the distress being fictitious. For how great soever the deception, there always lurks, at the bottom, a certain idea of fiction, in all we see ; and this idea, though weak and suppressed, suffices to diminish the pain which we suffer from a contrary impression on the mind, of the reality of the scene. A view of the real distress would excite horror ; but this, by the actors, is shown through a veil, which softens its features : the copy is always less vivid than the original ; and this imperfection is one of the principal merits of fictitious representation. It is certain, however, that a tragedy, well acted, often draws us into an absence to every thing, except a deep contemplation of the incidents of the play ; and we are for that time in a belief of the reality of the representation. By a close attention to the progress of the play, that part of the audience capable of being strongly affected, is now and then brought into a dream of its reality ; and which it is the interest of the actors to keep up by every possible deception.

It

It is this reverie which gradually takes place, from an artful deception, exciting a sympathy of the mind corresponding to the degree of emotion with which it is affected, that constitutes a great part of the pleasure we receive in the theatre. But these sympathetic feelings are so agreeable, that we pay our money freely in expectation of the enjoyment we are to receive. It must, however, be remarked, that the unconquerable impulse of curiosity which seizes some persons for sights of misery and horror, and likewise the more general passion for tragical representations, is always accompanied with an ardent expectation of hearing or seeing something new. This strong desire of novelty, natural to man, acts so universally and constantly on the mind, that it may be said to be inseparable from it, but exists with various degrees of force in different persons. It removes every degree of that disagreeable apathy or languor, into which the mind unemployed naturally falls ; and this circumstance, with the others mentioned above, contribute to that exhilarating agitation

agitation of the spirits, in which our happiness, in every pleasureable pursuit, seems chiefly to consist. While the reverie subsists, into which we are imperceptibly drawn, during the performance of a tragedy, there arises a strong desire, especially in the females, of exhibiting their sympathetic feelings, as an amiable part of their character ; and this heightens their enjoyment of the play.

From this last observation, as well as from those mentioned above, it is easy to perceive, how exceedingly our emotions, on these occasions, differ from those painful feelings with which the human mind is affected, in viewing real scenes of distress. In this last case, the heart of the good man is opened to pity and benevolence, in the indulgence of which he, in some degree, alleviates his sympathetic feelings ; but it is certain, that many resort to the theatre, nowise remarkable for their charity, and who studiously avoid all sights of real misery. This arises not from the want either of compassion for

the sufferers, or of that propensity inherent in mankind to view scenes of distress; but from the passions, common to all, being in them overbalanced by a mean and selfish disposition. When their desire of tragical excitement becomes so ardent, as to overpower their avarice, they resort to the theatre; they are often in the crowd at public executions; and, in both places, exhibit as much of the external signs of a sympathetic sorrow, as the more generous and humane; for no demand in either case is made on their pockets.

In such situations, there being nothing to counteract their sympathetic feelings, they freely indulge them, in hopes of abating part of that obloquy they are conscious of deserving, for want of charity to the poor in distress. But their hopes are frustrated; for, from the uniformity of their character, they too frequently discover to all around them the obduracy of their heart, and sordid disposition, when assistance is wanted to relieve the unfortunate. These hypocrites

pocrites in humanity, like all other false pretenders to virtue and goodness, from a desire to hide their foible, constantly preach up charity and benevolence. In all scenes of real misery, they, like the priest and the Levite, in the parable of the compassionate Samaritan, * turn their eyes away, and pass on the other side of the road, lest they should be compelled to some act of benevolence; suggesting a thousand subterfuges, to hide, even from themselves, the degrading consequences, and galling reflections, which must result from such a conduct.

But to return to our subject. If we take a review of the facts and observations in this Dissertation, it will be found, that the pleasing melancholy which we enjoy in the theatre, is not the result of compassion alone, or of pity, or of any other simple affection of the mind; but is the consequence of several causes, the combined action of which produces this effect. Sympathy is, no doubt, the most powerful of them; but

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without

* Luke, chap. x. verse 30.

without the aid of the other concurring causes mentioned, it would fall greatly short of producing that degree of indulgent compassion, with which the generality of the audience during the performance of a tragedy are affected. For though none of the circumstances mentioned above, which contribute to a belief of the reality of the representation, taken singly, are of much avail in this way ; yet their united force acts powerfully on the mind, in producing and heightening the melancholy pleasure we receive in the performance. Take away even the company, the music, and the lights, as at a rehearsal in the morning ; and how insipid is the enjoyment, to what we experience in the evening, with every requisite to carry on the delusion, and to heighten our pleasure ! The enjoyment we receive, in the theatre, from tragical representations, is of a compound nature, arising from a fluctuation of passions and emotions, of which sympathy seems to be the leading or predominant affection of the mind ; the others being subordinate,

subordinate, but each contributing its share towards the increase of our happiness. The sympathy we bestow on real objects of distress, is of a more simple nature, being associated with benevolence only, and a small degree of curiosity. At public executions, it is evidently curiosity that first seizes the mind; the impossibility of giving the smallest relief to the sufferer, annihilates every hope of affording it; and sympathy, of course, acts only a subordinate part.

I have, in the preceding pages, endeavoured to throw some faint light on the several causes, which operate on the mind, in raising that sympathetic sorrow, with which we are affected during the representation of a tragedy. I have likewise attempted to distinguish between the melancholy pleasure we receive on such occasions, and the disagreeable sensations with which we are affected in scenes of real distress. It will be found, that in both cases there is an excitement of the mind which mankind eagerly seek after, with a solicitude proportioned to the expected degree of emotion.

emotion. * If the operation of such excitements of the mind is well understood, there will be no difficulty in accounting for the pleasure we receive from less degrees of the same fixed attention, in reading, contemplation, conversation, declamation, business, card-playing, shews, and every other species of study, or amusement ; for without excitement, neither happiness nor misery can exist.

* Though a combat of gladiators, as anciently exhibited at Rome, would at present be the most shocking spectacle that could be presented to a civilized people ; yet the Romans ran to them with more eagerness than our jockies to a horse-race, or Spaniards to a bull-feast ; gazing on the wounds and death of the combatants, with an excess of melancholy pleasure, probably from their minds being deeply affected, and violently agitated.

**ON THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES
THAT PROMOTE OR RETARD POPULATION,
BEING THE CIRCUMSTANCES
FROM WHICH THE PRECISE DEGREE OF POWER
IN EVERY STATE MAY BE
ESTIMATED.**

P R E F A C E.

WHOEVER undertakes to trace the particular circumstances that shall be found to have an evident tendency to promote or retard the population of a nation, will ultimately find himself reduced to the consideration of those causes that operate decisively in advancing, or in obstructing the prosperity of the country. The degree of this prosperity, or of indolent poverty existing in any state, will appear to be the result of the co-operation of various causes, and to correspond with the power and extent in which they have subsisted. The circumstance most decisive in its consequences, and most powerful in its effects, in forming the character of a nation, and in the introduction of a general industry, or idleness, among the people, is the form of government
to

to which they have been accustomed. The nearer a government approaches to an absolute monarchy, and the more of a despotic power that is exercised in a state, the greater will be the depression of the faculties of the mind, and the less will there be of invention and industry among the people. But as the arbitrary power of princes, in different parts of the world is various, and exercised with greater or less degrees of lenity ; so the dispositions of the people, their propensity to labour, and power of invention, will also be various. Some allowance must likewise be made for the difference of climate and religion, which have also considerable effects in forming the characters of men.

From these observations, it will appear, that the population of a country will naturally correspond with the freedom of its constitution, in church * and state, the fertility of the lands, and
industry

* By this expression is meant, an established national Protestant religion, with a toleration to sectaries of every kind, not inimical to government.

industry of the people. But it is to the liberty of the subject, the security of his person and property, and an equality of all ranks, in respect to the laws, that we must ascribe the increased population and flourishing state of this kingdom. Such a degree of freedom and security as is enjoyed by the inhabitants of Britain, gives a steady support to every species of manufacture, which are numerous and extensive, affording articles for an immense trade to all parts of the globe. Our insular situation, the many excellent ports and harbours along the extensive coasts of this island, and the protection of commerce by our navy in time of war, are also great advantages, which give us a superiority in trade beyond any other mercantile nation in Europe. The immense number of hands now employed in trade, manufactures, and various sorts of useful labour, occasions greater demands on the farmer for the produce of the land, than formerly, to the great encouragement of agriculture, and every species of husbandry. But the demand on the farmer gradually

gradually increafing, and the great influx of wealth into this country leffening the value of the precious metals, the prices of provifions, for many years paft, have been progressively rifing, to the danger of our manufactures and commerce,

From my endeavours, in the fubfequent Sections, to point out the caufes which operate moft powerfully in promoting the population of a country, and of courfe in raifing it proportionably to wealth and power, it will appear that they principally confift in thofe means, which, directly or indirectly, tend to increafe the produce of the land. The demand for provifions will always keep pace with the value of the annual labour of the inhabitants, in arts, manufactures, and commerce, which makes the compensation for labour move in a circle from one to another. From the increafed price of provifions, the wages of labour have rifen, in many parts, in an over-proportion to the rife of the markets, which is always attended with hazard,
in

in regard to the success of our sales in foreign countries. This circumstance has led me to offer, with diffidence, not only some remarks on the division of commons, and improvement of waste lands, but to obviate as far as possible the waste of grain by the distillers. To prevent that constant fluctuation in the prices of grain, so hazardous to the corn-merchant, and hurtful to the country in general, I have attempted, as a remedy for this evil, to point out the advantages of a free and unlimited commerce in grain. For the ease and benefit of the farmers and proprietors of land, an equitable plan of accommodation for the tithe, is humbly proposed for the consideration of the public; and some improvements, on the present mode of levying the poor's rates in England, are likewise suggested.

Persons unacquainted with the nature of foundling-hospitals, are, from the helpless condition of the objects of these charities, apt to express themselves in the warmest manner, in favour of what they suppose to be most useful, humane,

mane, and charitable institutions. But from the accounts of the almost incredible number of deaths in the foundling-hospitals of London, Dublin, Paris, and others in different parts of Europe, we are under the necessity of declaring all such institutions not only useless, but detrimental in the highest degree to the population and prosperity of every country ; all of which I have endeavoured to prove, in a concise manner, from facts, in a short section on this subject.

I know not if I have succeeded in giving a clear view of the baneful consequences of entails of lands, houses, and other possessions, in a mercantile nation ; but I have endeavoured to show the great advantages that must arise to a state from a free commerce in every species of property. As bread is the chief necessary of life, so, the manufacturing of grain into meal ought to be burdened with as little expence as possible. I have therefore endeavoured to reprobate, and I hope with success, every species of thirlage ;
though

though less oppressive than formerly, since the passing of an act in 1797, for commuting mul-
ture and services to a thirl. If I have presumed,
in the Second Section of this Treatise, to make
some observations on the utility of our national
debt, when kept within bounds, it has been
chiefly with a view to show the great advant-
ages that must arise to a mercantile nation, from
the immense increase of its circulating capital,
by the dividends paid to the public creditors.

These are the subjects on which I have found
it necessary to treat, in proof of my general doc-
trine, relative to the principal causes which pro-
mote or retard the population of a country.
But towards a farther illustration of my subject,
I have, in the last Section, from the best *data*
I could procure from history and other re-
cords, endeavoured to give an estimate of the
population of Britain, at different periods, from
the first invasion of Julius Cæsar to the present
time. In this last dissertation, every fact and
circumstance mentioned in the preceding sec-
tions,

tions, as having a decisive effect in the population or depopulation of a country, and all their consequences, are fully exemplified. The subject of each Section, is evidently of such importance, as to have merited perhaps a more particular discussion than has been given it. But if sufficiently clear and intelligible, I shall not regret the neglect of that diffuse manner of treating my subject, practised by some authors, with an examination of facts, so frivolously minute, as often tend rather to obscure than elucidate their doctrines.

CON-

SECTION I.

The quantity of Provisions, of Labour, and the degree of Freedom enjoyed by the Inhabitants, regulate the Population of every Country.

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1. *Religion and the practice of virtue promote industry and population.*
2. *Vanity, in nations highly civilized, obstructs the propagation of the human species. The law of settlements in England has the same effect.*
3. *Such parts of the statute of apprenticeships, and those privileges of corporations, which encroach too much on the natural liberty of man, discourage industry and population.*

Parag.

4. *Industry is the source of wealth and prosperity in a nation.*
5. 6. *The population of every country corresponds with the degree of freedom enjoyed by the inhabitants, and the ease or difficulty with which the necessaries of life are obtained.*
7. *All capitals, the sinews of commerce, originate from the industry of the farmer, mechanic, and common labourer.*
8. 9. *The low, unwholesome diet which attends poverty, increases the mortality among children.*
10. *The population of every country depends on its natural produce, and the quantity and species of labour carried on by its inhabitants.*
11. *The demand for the fruits of the earth, and conveniences of life, in any country, will correspond with the value of the annual labour of its inhabitants.*
12. *Trade, favoured by local situation, but obstructed in Spain by bigotry in religion, and arbitrary power.*

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13. *The high duties on every article of commerce in Spain ruin the trade, and obstruct the prosperity of that country.*
14. *The depopulation of Spain, not owing to the banishment of the Moors and Jews, or migrations to America, but to the joint operation of the causes mentioned.*
15. *Prior to the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, the kingdoms and principalities of Spain were more free, industrious, populous, and powerful, than they have been, since united into one kingdom by that arbitrary prince.*
16. *A comparative view of the immense trade of Spain, during the reign of Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second, with its now low state.*
17. *During the monarchy of France, the arts, philosophy, and commerce flourished, but have greatly declined since the revolution.*
18. 19. *The Dutch being acknowledged by Spain, in 1609, a free and independent*

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- dent nation, soon became the most considerable commercial state in Europe.*
20. *Decline of the Dutch trade, imputable to various causes.*
21. 22. *Spain and Portugal show that the power and prosperity of a nation consist, not so much in the quantity of the precious metals, as in the industry of its inhabitants—Great part of the trade, lost by France and Holland during the war, gained by Britain.*

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23. *Private debts, and those of the public, shown to have opposite effects.*
24. *While the interest is paid to the public creditors, from a revenue which oppresses not the subject, our debt will be found advantageous to the nation.*
25. 26. *Large sums taken from the circulating capital of a country, and locked up in a public treasury, detrimental to trade.*

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27. *Were it possible to liquidate the whole of our debts, the diminution of the circulating capital to so great an amount as our present dividends, would hurt most essentially every species of industry and commerce.*
28. *The taxes, part of the circulating capital, move from the subject to the treasury, then to the Bank of England, afterwards to the creditors of the public; and, last of all, it returns to the industrious inhabitants; which circle is constantly kept up.*
29. *That part of the loan expended on the navy, is less felt by the nation, and more decisive in its consequences in war, than any other expence of government.*
- 30.31. *The great diffusion of wealth, in time of war, enriches individuals; but it is peace, an acknowledged superiority by sea, and an increase of our commerce,*

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that can most effectually reduce the public debt.

32. *On account of the uncertainty, to what amount we may bear our debt with ease, the further accumulation of it must be always attended with danger.*
- 33,34. *The intervals of peace, too short to allow the sinking fund to have any considerable effect in the reduction of our debt, but will probably be greatly assisted by the bills for the assessed and other taxes.*
35. *The low value of money, the high price of provisions, labour, and manufactures, are the unavoidable effects of a too great diffusion of wealth, as in Britain.*
36. *The price of provisions should regulate the price of labour—Large capitals give a decisive superiority to trade.*

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and means of its Increase, to answer the
rising Demand of the Public.

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38. 39. *The same quantity of land in pasture and in tillage is more productive than formerly ; but the quantity of grain, and number of black cattle, keep not pace with the increased demand—Reasons for the high price of provisions, &c.*
40. *The reduction of the prices of provisions to be effected chiefly by the cultivation of waste lands.*
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- be equal in value to the treasure Spain derives from America.*
43. *The waste lands, in their present state, of little value to the public.*
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46. *From improvements in agriculture, more grain is raised than formerly; but from the increase of industry and wealth, prices have risen—Causes of the great dearth in 1795, and in 1796.*
47. *Several causes combine to raise the price of provisions.*
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53. *Entails are contrary to the spirit of a free constitution, and the genius of a mercantile nation ; they convey a privilege to individuals to defraud their creditors.*

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54. *The act of 1685, ought to be repealed ; and trust deeds should never extend beyond the heirs existing at the time they are made.*
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- 68.69. *In every country where, from the fertility of the soil, and a favourable climate, a large surplus quantity of grain is raised, the free exportation of it encourages agriculture, and lowers its price in the home market.*
70. *This exemplified in Turkey.*
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72. *The bounty granted in 1688, on the exportation of grain, seems to have been a compromise with the King, who was then soliciting from Parliament the first establishment of the land-tax.*
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130. *Proofs of the iniquitous abuse of this charity.*
131. *Means suggested for correcting some abuses of this charity.*

Parag.

- 132. *The great mortality in foundling hospitals owing chiefly to the negligence of immoral, mercenary nurses, and the too great numbers lodged in the several apartments.*
- 133. *Large, crowded hospitals, being similar to pest-houses, ought to be abolished.*
- 134. *A plan proposed for the better accommodation and more effectual preservation of orphans.*
- 135. *Conclusion.*

SECTION XI.

Conjectures on the Population of Britain at different periods, from the first Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the present time.

- 136. *Introduction.*
- 137. *Agriculture practised by the Southern Britons, but pasturage and hunting the chief occupations of the Druids.*

Parag.

- 138, 139, 140. *At the first invasion of the Romans, the population of Britain did not probably exceed 850,000 persons of all ages.*
141. *A free intercourse between the Romans and Britons till A. D. 43, during which time a revenue from imports and exports was collected by the Romans.*
142. *Arts, agriculture, and civilization, gradually introduced in the southern counties by the Romans.*
143. *Improvements in agriculture became so considerable and extensive, as to constitute this island one of the granaries of the Roman empire.*
144. *From the arrival of Agricola, in the year 80, to the middle of the 4th century, improvements in architecture and other arts advanced so fast as to make Britain vie with Italy itself.*

145.

Parag.

145. *Flourishing state of Britain declined from the middle of the 4th century; and when deserted by the Romans, the Scots and Picts spread devastation over the whole country.*
146. *All remains of Roman grandeur in architecture and arts destroyed by the Saxons.*
147. *England, when a Roman province, probably more populous than in any after period, till the reign of the Tudors.*
- 148.149. *The several causes to which the low state of agriculture and population, from the 5th to the 16th century, must be ascribed.*
150. *From the low state of the arts and population, the farmer obliged to export his grain.*
151. *The high price given for English wool on the Continent, and the low state of manufactures, obstructed the advance-*
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Parag.

ment of agriculture till the reign of the Tudors.

152. *The corn laws have at all times defeated the intention of the Legislature.*

153. *In 1337, passed the first act prohibiting the exportation of wool, but with little effect till the woollen manufactures increased, about the beginning of the 16th century.*

154. *The population of England, of London, and other cities and towns, in 1377, ascertained.*

155. *This country was greatly depopulated by the hostile expeditions against France, and the civil wars that succeeded, during the 15th century.*

156. *Till the beginning of the 16th century, the disproportion between the small quantity of wool wrought into manufactures, and the large exportation of the raw material, was very great.*

157. *During the gradual advancement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce,*

Parag.

merce, in the 16th and 17th centuries, population increased with an equal pace.

158. *A comparative view of the population of Britain in ancient and modern times.*
159. *Conjecture relative to the population of Britain at different periods, from the first invasion of Julius Cæsar to the present time.*
160. *Population, with the wealth and power of every state, from manufactures, commerce, and agriculture.*

ON
THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES.
THAT
PROMOTE OR RETARD POPULATION, &c.

SECTION I.

THE QUANTITY OF PROVISIONS, OF LABOUR, AND
THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM ENJOYED BY THE
INHABITANTS, REGULATE THE POPULATION
OF EVERY COUNTRY.

Par. 1. IF the plan laid down in the preceding Treatise, for the early formation of the mind to virtue, religion, and industry, should, from a conviction of its utility, come to be universally practised, a reform in the rising generation will then gradually take place, greatly superior, and more permanent, than could arise from any other scheme hitherto proposed. Though the accomplishment of this desirable object, must undoubtedly

edly be, like the advancement of civilization in a great state, slow and gradual, yet from the attention of parents, and the support and protection of Government, hopes may be entertained of considerable success. By the general increase of morality and industry, among the inhabitants, the public would be amply repaid, for the expence that might be bestowed by Government, or individuals, in the promotion of this plan of national improvement. In proportion to the degree in which this salutary scheme for the early education of children shall take place, will be the happiness, wealth, and population of the country. This last circumstance, the increase of the inhabitants, will likewise be augmented by the general practice of inoculation in the families of the lower ranks, which I have, from a conviction of the utility of the practice, so strongly recommended in the first paper of the Appendix to the foregoing Treatise.

2. A circumstance which has likewise a tendency to increase the population of every country,

try, is, the early marriages of its inhabitants ; but this is not the general practice in nations highly civilized, where vanity prevails, which is a great enemy to the increase of the human species. This vanity, in such countries, descends even in some degree to the lower ranks of the people, and prevents that sense of equality in station and fortune, which ought to subsist among them. Another circumstance which, in many instances, must prevent early marriages, in England, is the shocking law of settlements. A more general, and a greater degree of oppression, on the industrious workman and labourer, perhaps never existed under the most despotic government. By this law, the most useful part of the community, are prohibited from moving from one parish to another, with their families, in quest of work, or better wages, unless they shall rent a house of ten pounds a year, or find sufficient security that they shall not become a burden on the parish ; which in many cases is next to a prohibition. Experience, however, has at last shown to the civil magistrates, church-wardens,

wardens, and overseers of the poor, the inexpediency of this law, and the futility of the practice therein enjoined. But if ever a representation of these facts shall reach the House of Commons, it is to be hoped that this law of settlements will be repealed ; by which means, a poor workman when thrown out of employment in one place, may seek for it in another, without fear of a prosecution or a removal.

3. If to this salutary measure they should add the repeal of the most exceptionable parts of the statute of apprenticeships, and abridge the privileges of corporations, as far as is consistent with the improvement of arts, commerce, and the good order of society, it would be of infinite service to the freedom and prosperity of the nation. This would be no more than to give to all his Majesty's subjects that natural liberty which soldiers and sailors enjoy, after they are discharged from the Army or Navy, which is productive of so much good to the country, and of happiness to individuals. But the strongest

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est proof of the bad effects of such restraints on the liberty of the subject, is, that in infant colonies, where there prevails near to an equality of fortune, of rank, and simplicity of manners, with a free constitution, and an extensive territory; there, men are observed to multiply, far beyond those nations which are fettered with laws that obstruct the advancement of industry and commerce.

4. The most decisive proof of the prosperity of a country, is the gradual increase of its inhabitants; and both are the strongest evidence that can be given of the industry of the people: for no one can call to mind any one of these three circumstances, without connecting with it the other two. They mutually assist each other: industry produces contentment, happiness, and prosperity; and this last naturally leads to a more numerous and thriving progeny. The instinct implanted in animals, for the continuation of their species, has never failed to produce that effect, wherever there has been a sufficiency of proper

proper nutriment for their sustenance. Animals have only to search for their food, which nature has every where provided for them ; but labour is the lot of man, not only for his aliment, but his raiment, conveniences, and comforts of life ; all which he enjoys in proportion to the quantity of labour, or the value of that labour he can bestow in the purchase of them. As this fact admits not of a doubt, it must follow, that labour is the source of all wealth and prosperity in a nation, and that it likewise tends to the increase of its population ; all which must arise from the prosperous condition of its trade, manufactures, and agriculture. In those districts, of every country, where commerce and manufactures are in a thriving state, the price of labour is high, the labourer and his family have a full subsistence ; and population proportionally increases. But the reverse of this takes place in those districts of the country that are destitute of manufactures, and where the price of labour is below its real value.

5. I intentionally pass over the hunter and shepherd states of man, so well known, to come at the more civilized condition of society, as it exists in the several states of Europe, and in other quarters of the globe; in all of which it will be found, that the population corresponds to the freedom of the nation, and the ease or difficulty with which the necessaries of life are obtained. In the fertile and well cultivated lands of China, where the earth yields her fruits in such abundance, and animals, fit for the use of man, are so numerous, and reared with so much ease, the population is immense. I have elsewhere made similar observations on the fruitful provinces of Bengal, which may be extended to all the fertile districts of the earth; and remarked, that in all cold and barren countries, as in the most northern parts of the continent of Asia, the small number of inhabitants bears no proportion to the great extent of these inhospitable regions. European Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other southern parts of Europe, so favoured by nature in

their soil and climate, but under despotic governments, are not, in proportion to these natural advantages, so powerful, prosperous, or populous, as other nations to the northward of them, less favoured by nature, but more free. The abuse of power abates the vigour of action, and benumbs the faculties of the mind; but the security of person and property, under a free constitution, gives alacrity to every species of industry, and favours invention.

6. Each of the circumstances mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, have, no doubt, more or less, a decisive influence in promoting or obstructing the population of a country. But in every country the population will be found to depend chiefly on the freedom of the constitution, the fertility of the lands, and the degree of industry that prevails among the people; and this last circumstance is of itself sufficient to produce wealth, power, and happiness, even where there is but a moderate enjoyment of the other two. This formerly was the situation of Holland,

land, and in some degree of most of the republics of Europe, though oppressed by an overbearing aristocracy, which has always the effect of depressing, more or less, the spirit and industry of the nation. But in Britain, where the peasant, in respect to the laws, is on an equality with the greatest man in the state; where the soil in many places is excellent, and in others, more refractory, made good by the art and skill of the farmer; abounding in mines of tin, lead, copper, iron, and in several of the semimetals, with an almost inexhaustible quantity of coal;—manufactures and agriculture are capable of being carried to the highest degree of improvement.

7. These natural advantages, the enterprising spirit of rich societies and individuals, the invention of ingenious artists, and, in certain cases, the patronage and protection of Government, have brought many of our manufactures to a great degree of perfection. The profits arising from the capitals employed in these manufactures,

nufactures, must, no doubt, be held as the real source of their improvement and extension; for, without such an incitement, all industry would cease. But, whatever may be the accumulation of the wealth of the principal merchants and manufacturers, it must all originate from the labour of the farmer, mechanic, and common labourer; each of whom contributes his mite towards augmenting the treasure of his employer, and ultimately that of the state. For the industrious poor, however despised by the vain and ignorant, must always be considered as the first in the scale of civil society, and the basis on which all the higher gradations are supported; it being from this order of the people that all national wealth is derived. It is likewise on these lower ranks, by much the most numerous in every state, that the population of a country chiefly depends; and this will always correspond with the degree of industry that is carried on, and of the food they can purchase with the price of their labour: For the wages of a workman, or labourer, ought always to be
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proportionate, not only to the purchase of that quantity of food necessary for the maintenance of himself, a wife, and two or three children, but to defray the expence of house-rent, clothes, and other necessaries of life. Where wages are sufficient for these indispensable demands, and a prudent œconomy is observed, population will increase ; but in proportion to the deficiency of the necessaries of life, population will be stationary, or it will decrease. This is exemplified in the manufacturing counties, where the prices of provisions are reasonable ; and in other districts of the country, where very little work of any kind is carried on, and the price of labour is too low for the maintenance of a family ; though these last are still in a better condition than many of the lowest class of labourers in great towns.

8. I have formerly shown,* that the great mortality among the children of the lower ranks of the people, is chiefly owing to the very low

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* Treatise on the Formation of the Minds of Children, &c.

and unwholesome diet on which they are kept, and their being subjected to all the inconveniences of poverty. Among this class many children are born; but few arrive at manhood. The tender plants are produced, but in so cold a soil, and severe a climate, that they soon wither and die. In some families, they rear not above one in seven or eight that are born; but, in most cases of this kind, we see poverty accompanied with gracelessness, and a neglect of their infants. Where more care is taken, and a better diet can be afforded, we see the number of deaths proportionably diminish. A greater number of fine children is seldom seen any where than about a barrack of soldiers; but it is certain, that of the great number of children that are born in a regiment, not so many of the boys rise to manhood as are sufficient to supply the place of the fives and drummers that are wanted. In some places, one half of the children born, die before they are four years of age; in many places, before they are seven; and, in almost all places, before they are nine or ten. This great mortality,

mortality, however, will everywhere be found chiefly among the children of the common people, who cannot have the same care taken of them, or so good a diet, as in families in more easy circumstances.

9. Among the children brought up by parish charities, and in foundling-hospitals, the mortality is still greater than among those of the common people, which argues some radical error in their institutions, or great mismanagement in the servants and nurses of these public charities. Were we to compare the number of children who rise to maturity by the bounty of these institutions, and in the army, with those of the workmen in Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, and other manufacturing towns, the difference would be found very greatly in favour of the latter. These observations are not only applicable to man, but to every species of animals, which thrive and multiply in proportion to the means of their subsistence. How diminutive are the native horses and black cattle of the High-

lands of Scotland, compared to those that are bred on more luxuriant pastures in the low countries. The gentlemen, farmers and their servants, traffickers, fishermen, and all others in the Highlands who have had a good and wholesome diet from their infancy, are of a full size ; but the low stature of the meaner inhabitants, who have lived in poverty, is remarkable. Though the truth of these observations is sufficiently obvious ; yet, as this subject is of the greatest importance to mankind, it may not be improper to proceed a little farther in some illustrations, and, as far as is in my power, to point out the remedies against the excess of poverty and depopulation.

10. In those countries where Europeans have had an opportunity of viewing man in the hunter state, provisions have been found scanty, their supply irregular and uncertain, and the number of souls, compared to the extent of their hunting-ground, very small. In the shepherd state, where hunting is practised for pleasure and for food, but where they chiefly depend for their
sustenance

sustenance on the milk and flesh of domesticated animals, population is more considerable. But in every civilized country, where agriculture and the domestication of animals, for labour and for food, have been introduced, there the number of inhabitants increases to a greater height, than in either of the two primitive states of man. A nation of hunters, or of shepherds, will, in respect to their number, continue nearly stationary, while they are confined to the same extent of territory ; for their lands can feed only a certain quantity of game, or of cattle. But in countries where agriculture is carried on as a branch of trade, and every species of husbandry is well understood, population will keep pace with the quantity of land brought under the dominion of the plough and the spade, which will correspond with the demand for the produce of the land.

11. From the experience of past times, farmers, in general, are well acquainted with the average quantities of grain that are brought
annually

annually to their nearest market, or that has been demanded of them for exportation ; and likewise with the average prices of both corn and cattle. These must no doubt vary, as the seasons are favourable or unfavourable for the farmer ; as the industry and commerce of the country is on the increase or decline ; or as the blessing of peace, or scourge of war, prevails throughout Europe ; which makes a considerable difference in the prices of provisions, and has a decisive influence on the population or depopulation of the country. But as these accidents are seldom foreseen, and, when foreseen, not always provided for, it is reasonable to believe, that the quantity of grain, in ordinary years, raised throughout Europe, is little more than sufficient for the maintenance of its inhabitants. But the quantity of land brought into agriculture, and the demand for grain, will vary in different countries, not only according to the number, but to the industry of the people ; for, in proportion to the value of their annual labour, will be the demand for the fruits of the earth, and conveniences

conveniences of life. It is the common labourer, manufacturer, mechanic, and those employed in the trade and commerce of the country, that are the great consumers of whatever is raised by the farmer; to them we must look, more than to the rich and the idle, for the extension of agriculture. These last, no doubt, are of great use, from the encouragement they give to industry of every kind; but their demand on the farmer, weaver, tanner, soap-boiler, tallow-chandler, and others, for articles of consumption, is small when compared to that of the industrious classes above mentioned. It is on the number and prosperity of the industrious workmen and labourers, that the farmer must depend for the sale and consumption of every thing he can bring to market; by the industry of these men, is carried on the internal and external commerce of every country; and from their labour arise the riches and power of every nation.

12. The extraordinary industry of artists, manufacturers, and farmers, in any country, the
source

source of trade and commerce, is the result of several causes, all co-operating to produce the same effect. Local situation is often favourable to this end; as France, Spain, Holland, and Britain, from the position and extent of their sea-coasts, are better calculated for trade and commerce, than perhaps any of the other countries of Europe. I have elsewhere endeavoured * to point out the reasons why the progress of manufactures, trade, commerce, the arts, and agriculture, in Spain, corresponded not to the goodness of the climate, and fertility of its lands. This sluggish inactivity in the inhabitants of Spain, I ascribed chiefly to their despotic government; the aristocratical power of the nobles; the prevalence of a mean, slothful pride, which disdains commerce, trade, and the mechanical arts; the bigotry of the clergy, of the people in general, and of the court itself; all of which have a strong tendency to suppress the spirit of industry.

* Treatise on Literature, Commerce, and the Arts, &c. Par. 15. 16. & 17.

industry. This dislike to labour in Spain, is greatly increased, by the alms and provisions daily distributed to the poor, at the palaces of bishops, the dignified clergy, numerous convents, and other religious institutions, which encourages idleness and profligacy, and increases the number of their poor, who infest the streets of every city and town in Spain. To these causes we may add the low prices of gold and silver, arising from the impolitic restraint put on its exportation, which raises the price of labour, and discourages manufactures.

13. Other powerful obstructions to the inland and foreign trade of Spain, are the impolitic, heavy taxes with which both species of commerce are loaded. It is unnecessary to specify particularly the many articles of commerce, which are burdened with such high duties on importation and exportation, as to reduce the trade and manufacture of Spain greatly below what its natural situation, and fertility of its soil, are easily capable of producing. The duty on the
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the exportation of barilla, discourages the further cultivation of that plant, and keeps up the price so high as to tempt the manufacturers of glass and soap in other countries to substitute an inferior fixt salt in its place. The Spanish bay salt is perhaps of the best quality of any manufactured in Europe ; but its sale is much limited by the same cause. The superior quality of Spanish raw silk, makes it in great request ; but as the duty upon it exceeds 60 per cent. it can find no vent in a foreign market ; nor is there almost any demand for it at home, as its high price has reduced the silk manufacture in Spain to the lowest ebb. But the most oppressive impost of all, is the famous tax, known by the name of Alcavalla, of 14 per cent. upon every thing bought and sold in the country ; for it affects the whole people of Spain, but particularly the manufacturer and merchant, which is sufficient of itself to destroy all internal commerce, by the encouragement it gives to smuggling. These high taxes on articles of commerce are not only productive of many frauds on the revenue,

venue, which never fail of introducing a disregard to good morals, but are the chief cause of the depopulation of Spain.

14. The circumstances just mentioned, so obnoxious to freedom, and to trade, are certainly of themselves sufficient to have occasioned the depopulation of Spain, without having recourse to the banishment of the Moors and the Jews, or the migration of the inhabitants to South America. Ustaritz, in his Theory and Practice of Commerce, proves, from evident facts, that the depopulation of Spain is not occasioned by the West Indies. From Castile, few go to America; and yet this ancient kingdom is the worst peopled district in Spain. The northern provinces, Gallicia, Asturia, Biscay, &c. send more people to Mexico and Peru than all the other provinces; but are, notwithstanding, the most populous of the whole. The fact is, that every nation can bear considerable migrations, great losses by war or by pestilence; and, in a few years after these evils have ceased, their

their population comes to be nearly the same as before these calamities took place, provided there is work and provisions sufficient for those who are to fill up the gap, with freedom and security in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour.

15. Some of the oppressive taxes in the preceding paragraphs, and others not mentioned, have been gradually introduced into the wretched financial system of Spain, from the time that the several kingdoms or principalities of that country were united under Ferdinand and Isabella. From that period, the despotic power of the Crown became more absolute and oppressive than in former times, when the Cortes of Spain had nearly the same power and privileges as our present British Parliament. The several principalities, both of Christians and Moors, were then, before their monarchs began to reign with so tyrannical a sway as Ferdinand and his successors, in a most flourishing state in respect to manufactures, agriculture,

culture, and commerce, which flourished under a mild administration and moderate taxes ; the consequence of which was, that there were in Spain more industry, riches, power, and a greater population, than there has ever been since, notwithstanding the acquisition of Mexico and Peru. Abdoulrahman the Third, one of the Spanish Caliphs, lived in more splendour than the Kings of Spain do at present ; as may be inferred, from his revenue being 12,500,000 Dinars, above five millions Sterling, and his keeping in pay no less than 12,000 horsemen for his guards, with sabres and belts enriched with gold. Cordova, the capital of his empire, is said to have contained two hundred thousand houses, 600 mosques, and 900 public baths. But how great is now the diminution of this magnificence and population ! which, with the disappearance of many capital cities and towns, and of thousands of villages in the plains of Seville, and other provinces in Spain, is the strongest proof that can be given of the direful effects of the rigid admi-

nistration of an absolute monarch, and a fanatical domineering priesthood.

16. Though the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and his son Philip, inclined strongly to maintain the arbitrary power of their predecessor Ferdinand, yet they carried it not so far in Spain, as to hurt essentially the manufactures and commerce of that country. For, notwithstanding a ruinous administration, there still remained among the Nobles something of the ancient spirit of the Cortes, for liberty, which diffused a sense of freedom through the lower ranks. Their trade was then much more considerable than can be easily conceived at present ; for we have it on the authority of Ustaritz, that the town of Seville alone contained 60,000 silk looms. During the 16th century the woollen cloth of Segovia was esteemed the finest in Europe, and that of Catalonia long maintained its preference in the Levant, in Italy, and in the adjacent islands. In a memorial addressed to the second Philip, Louis Valle de la Cerda reports,
that

that in the fair of Medina he had negotiated bills of exchange to the extent of one hundred and fifty-five millions of crowns ; and at that time there were in Spain several fairs no less frequented. How different is now the state of their trade, when they are obliged to the manufacturing countries of Europe, for not only most of the articles of commerce they send to their colonies in America and the West Indies, but even for home consumption. As there is not raised in Spain a sufficiency of grain for the inhabitants, they are obliged to have recourse to the corn countries of Europe to make up the deficiency ; and it is asserted by some, and I believe with truth, that from mere poverty, and the want of a sufficient sustenance, a greater proportion die there in infancy than in any other country in Europe.

17. During the monarchy of France, the established religion of that country was likewise the Roman Catholic ; but it took not so strong a hold of the minds of the people, was not prac-

tised with equal pomp, nor embraced with the same ardour and devotion, as in Spain. Though the monarchy of France was said to be despotic, yet several of their last Kings exercised their power with gentleness ; they were often put under great restraints by their Parliaments, and even by the Nobility ; whose rank was too elevated, and privileges too extensive ; whilst the lower ranks were too much depressed, consistently with good government, or the prosperity of which they were capable. Notwithstanding this apparent incapability in their government to afford an equal enjoyment of the laws, and of liberty, the genius of philosophy and invention shone forth in France with great lustre. Many of their manufactures were superior to any of the like kind in Europe ; they possessed such a spirit of enterprise for trade and commerce, as, with the help of their foreign possessions, put them on the most respectable footing in these respects. But since the commencement of their late revolution, the unjust trial and condemnation of their King, and their subsequent hostilities

against

against most of the states of Europe, they have lost all their possessions in India, several in the West Indies, above a third of their navy, and almost the whole of their foreign trade; * which, with an immense load of debt, and a loss of credit with foreign nations, brought them, at the end of the war, to the lowest ebb, as a mercantile nation.

18. By steady courage, and long perseverance, the Dutch, under all the calamities of war, at last compelled the Court of Spain, in the year 1609, to declare the Seven United Provinces to be a free and independent nation. The many hardships, great labour, and strict frugality to which the Dutch were inured during their long war with the Emperor Charles, and his son Philip of Spain, gave them such habits of industry, to which they seem by nature inclined,

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* Not being able to protect their trade, most of their wines, and a number of other articles, were, during the greatest part of the war, exported in neutral vessels, and sent in a circuitous way to market.

inclined, as enabled them very rapidly to increase their trade and commerce beyond any example of former times. All obstructions to their commerce being removed, by the peace with Spain, every useful manufacture was carried on throughout the provinces, and soon brought to such a degree of perfection, as gave them a preference in almost every market in Europe. Their shipping and mariners increased so fast, that in a few years, with the progressive advancement of their commerce, they became the carriers of goods from one port to another, for most of the nations of Europe. By this means Amsterdam became the chief repository of all European and foreign commodities, to which merchants, or their agents from distant countries, resorted for the transacting of business, which was greatly facilitated by the credit purchased by individuals in the Bank of Amsterdam.

19. After the Dutch obtained by conquest the principal settlements of the Portuguese in
India,

India, which gave them possession of all the spice islands, their East India Company became the first in Europe for prosperity and wealth. The flourishing state of the Dutch, may, in some degree, be estimated by the dividends of their India Company, which rose to 40, and in some years to 60 per cent. to which enormous height it had arrived in 1660. Though, from this period their profits began to decline, yet for nearly a hundred years after, the proprietors divided, on an average one year with another, somewhat above 24 per cent. Prior to 1760, their dividends were much reduced; for in that year they divided only 15 per cent.; and their West India Company, the same year, no more than two and a half per cent. *

20. At the death of Charles the First of England, and for some years after, their navy was equal, if not superior, to that of any other nation in Europe; but their wars with England,

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during

* Anderson's History of Commerce, London, 1787.

during the administration of Oliver Cromwell, and afterwards with Charles the Second, hurt their marine, and obstructed their trade with foreign nations. The first severe check, however, their commerce received, was by the famous and political Act of Navigation, passed in the reign of Charles the Second,* by which their carrying trade has ever since been greatly contracted. Notwithstanding this heavy blow against their commerce, and the power of their marine,

* This most beneficial act to the commerce and navy of Britain, is commonly supposed to have been first formed into a law under the administration of Oliver Cromwell, and afterwards confirmed by the Legislature in the reign of Charles the Second. But the fact is, that, near to three centuries before either of these periods, was passed our first Navigation Act, as may be seen in the fifth of Richard the Second, cap. 3d, the substance of which is as follows: 'That for increasing the shipping of England, of late much diminished, none of the King's subjects shall hereafter ship any kind of merchandize, either outward or homeward, but only of ships of the King's subjects, on forfeiture of ships and merchandize, in which ships also the greater part of the crews shall be the King's subjects.'

marine, and though the English, French, and other nations of Europe, have, during the currency of the last century, made great advances in manufactures and commerce ; yet the Dutch, till of late, held a very respectable station among the mercantile nations of Europe. This may be ascribed to various causes : the low rate of interest in Holland, the great industry and frugality of her inhabitants, the vast number of her productive hands, in a country more populous than perhaps any other part of the world of equal extent, and her numerous canals for the transportation of goods, each of which contributed towards the general prosperity of the state. War, however, so destructive to nations, has ever been the bane of Holland : her junction with the French and Spaniards, as allies of the American colonies, in their late war with Britain, hurt very considerably her trade and credit. But since she became a province of France, the Dutch lost the Cape of Good Hope, and most part of their settlements in India ; for though several of these are, by the late peace, nominally restored

restored to the Dutch, yet they remain under the management and protection of the French Republic.

21. The observations made in regard to the present state of Spain, are likewise applicable to the kingdom of Portugal; and both countries clearly evince, that the real wealth and power of a state consists not in its gold and silver mines, but in its commerce and manufactures. The absurd and impolitical restraint put on the exportation of the precious metals from these kingdoms, is strongly reprobated by every person the least acquainted with mercantile transactions. And the Court of Spain, sensible at last of the impracticability of retaining the gold and silver within the kingdom, permitted their exportation in 1768, on a duty of 4 per cent. It is thought, however, that a lower duty would have brought more money into the Spanish treasury. These prohibitory laws are, in reality, of no avail, in regard to the retention of the precious metals; for they will always find their way to those countries

countries which have the balance of trade in their favour. * The Spanish and Portuguese merchants are thereby put to some inconveniences, which, for the encouragement of trade, ought always to be avoided. Indeed, Spain and
Portugal

* It is to this circumstance we are indebted for the gradual increase, for some centuries past, of the circulating capital of every nation in Europe, most observable in mercantile states, with a proportionable diminution in the value of the precious metals. Their influence, in this way, has extended to every quarter of the globe; but their effects have been most perceptible in those European possessions, which lie nearest to the source of their mines. It is not to the support afforded by the mother countries, that we can altogether ascribe the gradual, but progressive extension of the sugar, cotton, coffee, and other plantations, in the British, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, in the American seas. The illicit trade of these colonies, for upwards of a century, with the Continent of South America, for gold, silver, cochineal, vanilla, and other precious commodities, has been the chief cause of the great improvement and present prosperous state of these several possessions. This illicit and lucrative commerce was rendered more easy and secure to British vessels, and American islands, by the *Asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which England obtained at the peace of Utrecht.

Portugal have demonstratively taught us, that the real prosperity and power of a country consist not in the bullion and coin that may be in the public treasury, or in the repositories of individuals, but in the quantity of the precious metals that is brought into circulation, in promoting manufactures and commerce. This, for many years, was wonderfully exemplified by the indefatigable Dutch, whose industry, like a magnet, drew annually from other countries more money in circulation than existed in any other nation in Europe ; by which their wealth, power, and population increased. This is a natural consequence; for when the value of the industry and commerce of one country greatly exceeds that of another, including the value of the gold and silver extracted from its mines, the power and prosperity of the one to the other nation will always be in proportion to the annual product of the sources of their wealth, respectively.

22. From the circumstances mentioned in the preceding paragraphs relative to the governments

ments of Spain and Portugal, and the reluctance of their inhabitants to labour, it seems probable that they are incapable of any remarkable extension of their commerce, with their present constitutions, religion, and police. This general aversion to trade, and consequent incapability for commercial transactions among the natives, has drawn to Cadiz, Lisbon, and other ports of Spain and Portugal, companies of merchants from other countries, as England and France; and Jews from all nations, who carry on a considerable part of the foreign commerce of these kingdoms. From the commerce of Spain and Portugal continuing nearly stationary for many years, and that of France and Holland, for the reasons given above, being now greatly reduced, it may be thought by some, that the commerce of Europe is greatly diminished; but this is not true to the extent that is commonly supposed. What the French and Dutch have lost in manufactures and commerce, has in a great measure been gained by other states, and even by some nations lately engaged in the war against France.

This

This has been particularly the case with Britain for some years ; her internal and external commerce, notwithstanding an expensive war, having increased greatly beyond any former example. This must be ascribed to the co-operation of a variety of causes ; her insular situation, the great number of her sea-ports, and of her ships ; the vast power of her navy ; the goodness of her manufactures, and the immense circulating capital of her merchants and traders.

SECTION II.

THE NATIONAL DEBT, ITS EFFECTS ON COMMERCE.

23. THE circumstance which many have viewed with the greatest degree of despondency, during the whole of the last century, is our national debt, from which they prognosticated, with the utmost confidence, a public bankruptcy, and the consequent ruin of the country. Their prophecy of this dismal event is usually founded on the familiar instance of a spendthrift, who, by constantly living beyond his income, is at
last

last reduced to beggary. The ingenious Soame Jenyns, with whom some of the following remarks originated, in his account of these false patriots, says, ‘ They have constantly considered
 ‘ this national debt as similar to a debt contract-
 ‘ ed between two private individuals, to which
 ‘ it bears not the least resemblance. The pri-
 ‘ vate debtor is obliged to pay his creditor, if his
 ‘ effects are sufficient for that purpose ; the pub-
 ‘ lic are under no obligation to pay theirs, be-
 ‘ cause they originally granted them no more
 ‘ than a perpetual and transferable annuity. The
 ‘ principal of a private debt is secured by law,
 ‘ though the interest cannot always be got with-
 ‘ out much difficulty and delay ; the interest of
 ‘ the public debt is punctually discharged, but
 ‘ the principal cannot be demanded or obtained
 ‘ by any other means than by transferring it to
 ‘ another person for whatever price he shall be
 ‘ willing to give. The private debtor is poor,
 ‘ in proportion to his debt ; but the public
 ‘ is enriched by whatever it owes. The pri-
 ‘ vate debtor would be rich if his debts were
 ‘ discharged ;

‘ discharged ; but the nation would be impoverished if hers were paid off. ’ * But these very vigilant and benevolent gentlemen are unwilling to lose any opportunity of giving the alarm to the Ministry, and the public, of our dangerous situation ; they even go so far, as to calculate the term of our destruction to be at no great distance. But their calculations are the less to be regarded, as they are generally made by men whose principles are known to be inimical to the present form of our constitution, and with a view, the reverse of tranquillity and peace.

24. Notwithstanding these unfavourable prognostics, which their authors demonstrate with as much keenness as if they wished them to be realized ; yet if, by a long peace, and the economy of our Ministry, the debt of the nation should be considerably diminished, no one can doubt of the advantages that must accrue from such a happy event. The plan
adopted

* Vol. II. p. 277.

adopted by government, of paying off a million annually, with the addition of other more effectual funds; to be afterwards mentioned, for the gradual liquidation of our debt, gives us a fair prospect of its being in a short time considerably diminished. I can suppose, however, this desideratum in politics to be carried so far as to be inconsistent with the prosperity of the nation; as, while the dividends are regularly paid to the public creditor, from a revenue which oppresses not the subject, our debts will be found to be advantageous to the nation. For the prosperity of the internal and external commerce of a state will always be found to correspond with the quantity of money in circulation, and its quick transit from one person to another.* Now it

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must

* The numerous operations that may be carried on, by the quick circulation of a small quantity of specie, cannot be better exemplified than by mentioning what took place at the siege of Tournay, in 1745, when all communication with the country was cut off from the besieged. From this circumstance, they were under the greatest distress, for the
want

must be obvious to every person of reflection, that the interest of so immense a sum as that of our national debt, paid at four terms in the year, must, by increasing the circulation, augment, of course, every species of industry. Manufactures are thereby promoted, our imports and exports increased, and the public revenue is proportionably augmented, the levying of which is greatly facilitated by the general diffusion of wealth.

25. The truth of these observations is corroborated by an appeal to former times, before the practice of funding was established, when the commerce of this country was very inconsiderable. But in after times, when the public
debt

want of specie, to pay the troops ; and the resource at last was, to borrow from the sutlers all the ready money they possessed, which amounted to 7000 florins. At the end of the week, these 7000 florins had returned to the sutlers, from whom the same sum was borrowed a second time. This operation was repeated for seven weeks, until the surrender of the place ; so that the same 7000 florins performed the office of 49,000.—*Essay on Circulation and Credit, &c.* By M. de Pinto. London, 1774. 4to. p. 5.

debt came to be above a hundred millions, subscriptions for loans were readily obtained to a greater amount than could have been procured, when we owed nothing, because such sums were not then to be found in the country. Now that the national debt is quadruple of what it was 50 years ago, the credit of Administration for loans to be funded, appears to have risen in proportion to the extent of our public debt. The reverse of this must have been the case, at all times, and in every country, where the practice of the Monarch was to amass the surplus of his revenue in a public treasury. For the money collected from the subject, and thus unproductively preserved, is in fact so much taken from the circulating capital of the state, which is destructive of every species of industry, and must introduce a general poverty among the people. Notwithstanding some laws, enacted in the time of Henry the Seventh, for the benefit of trade, yet the hoarding up in his treasury the three

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millions *

* Hume's History, London, 1786. 8vo, vol. III. p. 389.

millions which he squeezed from the subject, was a real detriment to the prosperity of the country. *

26. This, however, was the general practice of those days ; and though some individuals, in high offices in the state, became rich on the plunder of the public, yet the great body of the people were in poverty. Even in modern times, some of the Princes of Europe have practised the draining of considerable sums from their subjects, and locking it up from public view, to provide for unforeseen emergencies. This, in some instances, may have been necessary; but all of them have in general carried the hoarding principle too far, to the proportionable
diminution

* The money found in the coffers of Henry the Seventh, at his death, is said, by the accurate Dr Henry, to amount to 1,800,000 pounds of the money in those days ; equal, in the quantity and weight of the precious metals, to 2,700,000, and, in real value and efficacy, to 8,000,000 of our money at present. Henry's History of Britain, London, 1795. 8vo, vol. XII. p. 169.

diminution of circulation, and oppression of the subject. The late Frederick, King of Prussia, from certain claims of the House of Austria, to some part of his possessions, and the jealousy of neighbouring Princes, found it necessary, it is said, to have, even in times of peace, above seven millions Sterling in his treasury. But so great a sum, taken from the circulating capital of his subjects, was evidently a loss to the trade and commerce of his kingdom. Now, however, that the principles of trade are better understood, and it being well known that the flourishing state of every mercantile nation must, in a great degree, depend on the extent of their circulating capital, we may not only safely conclude the dividends of the British funds to have, in this way, a very considerable effect; but that the abstraction of them, by a total liquidation of our debt, would soon prove the ruin of the country.

27. I mean not to say that our immense debt is the cause of our prosperity; such an as-

fertion might justly excite the censure and ridicule of the public. I am rather of opinion, that a considerable diminution of our debt, and a proportionable reduction of such taxes as press hardest on the labouring poor, would be of great benefit to the nation, and even to Ministers; for the abolition of certain taxes, is like the shutting of a gold mine, which may be opened on some future occasion. In my Treatise on Literature, Commerce, and the Arts, are mentioned various causes which promote trade, independent of the advantages which must arise from large dividends to the creditors of the public. All I contend for, is, that when the revenue of the state oppresses not the subject, and is collected with ease, then the dividend paid to the holders of stock, must increase trade, by adding proportionably to the circulating capital of the country. I am even of opinion, that were it in the power of Government to liquidate the whole of our debt, and that they did actually purchase it up, the diminution of the money in circulation, to so great an amount as our present dividends,

dents, would hurt most essentially every species of industry and commerce. But it is unnecessary to prosecute such a supposition through its various consequences, of overflowing capitals being placed in the public funds of foreign nations, and other bad effects. I incline rather to make some observations on the public loans, and the consequent taxes, for payment of the interest,

28. These loans we must suppose to be made, partly, to defray the expence of Administration, through all its branches; but the greatest demands on Parliament will be for defence, in the necessary wars in which we may be engaged. They are usually made up from unemployed capitals, or by such as cannot be used on such advantageous terms as those proffered by the Minister to the subscribers for the loan. The money lent to Government is converted into perpetual annuities, of three, four, or five per cent., some redeemable, others not, but transferable to others who enjoy the same annuity as the last holders of the stock. This an-

nuity, or dividend, as it is called, is paid at the Bank of England, out of the public revenue arising from the land-tax, customs, excise, stamp-duties, post office, &c. in certain funds, at Lady Day and Michaelmas, and, in others, at Midsummer and Christmas; so that any one, by dividing his stock, may receive his interest quarterly. This being usually expended in articles of luxury, and necessaries of life, a considerable share of it returns to the tradesman, manufacturer, and labourer, from whom a small portion of it was taken in the prices of articles of consumption. For every loan funded, is, in fact, a new creation of so much wealth to individuals, both of principal and interest; for the principal being easily transferable, operates exactly as so much cash; and the interest, by enabling so many to consume the commodities on which taxes are laid for the payment of it, in a great measure produces annually an income to discharge itself. Like the water of a pond, which, after it has put in motion the machinery of a mill, is again pumped back to its source, and

and is kept in a continual rotation ; so a great part of the taxes move in a circle, from the subject to the treasury, afterwards to the Bank of England, then to the creditors of the public ; and, last of all, it returns to the industrious inhabitants of the country, with the exception of some dividends belonging to foreigners, which are sent abroad.

29. The advantage, however, to the public, by the scheme of funding, is not solely from this circulation, which is so often repeated, but from the expenditure of the loans in the equipment and payment of the army and navy, and in the manufacture and purchase of every species of warlike stores. The expence, however, which gives the least dissatisfaction to the public, is that bestowed on the navy ; in war the most powerful, and decisive in its effects, and in which the real strength of Britain must always consist. Every war has shewn, that it is our great bulwark of defence, the surest means of annoying our enemies ; and the expence of building and equippin

equipping our ships, is less felt by the nation than half the sum expended on land forces employed on the Continent. The money sent abroad on this account, and in subsidies to foreign Princes, returns not to us, unless in the balance of trade; which we would wish to enjoy, without such an expenditure, as it drains us of our specie. Whereas the building of ships, the making of sailcloth, cordage, cables, and all other necessary furniture of a ship, with provisions, and every sort of warlike stores, are mostly fabricated and furnished by our own people, to the enrichment of many individuals.

30. This diffusion of wealth, through many thousands of families, must encourage manufactures, promote the sale of every article of consumption, and augment the public revenue; and though individuals become rich, yet the debts of the public increase, in time of war, which therefore ought never to be entered on, but from the most urgent and pressing necessity. War, it is certain, cannot be altogether avoided; but when

we are, contrary to our interest, compelled to enter on that direful and shocking means of defence, let us prosecute it with vigour, but chiefly by sea, as the most natural seat of war for Britain. As war, however, has been the cause of our national debt, no one can hesitate on giving his most ardent wishes for the long continuation of peace, as the most certain and never-failing remedy for its reduction.

31. Now that we have obtained the most desirable of all events, peace with our neighbours *, the most effectual means on our part to ensure its permanency will be, such a reduction only, of our navy, as shall still ensure security against any sudden attack of our enemies. It has been the opinion of many intelligent men, that the registration of seamen, on a small pension, to serve in future wars, would prevent,

* This was written soon after the peace of Amiens, and before our disputes with the French Government, on account of Malta, and other important subjects, took place.

prevent, in a great measure, the impressing of sailors when wanted, render us less liable to mutinies in the fleet, and be attended with other advantages * ; keeping always in remembrance, that it is trade which makes sailors, and sailors a navy. The superiority of our navy and mariners, being generally known, would have an excellent effect in the preservation of peace, especially if Europe were apprised of a firm resolution in Government, not to exhaust our wealth in continental concerns. Such resolutions might no doubt occasion some alterations in our treaties with foreign powers ; but in deliberating on these subjects, ministers ought constantly to keep in remembrance, that the wealth of both the Indies has hitherto been, and always will be commanded by the nation possessed of the greatest force by sea. It is only peace, an acknowledged superiority

* The benefit that might arise from the registration of seamen is disputed by some professional men, giving the example of Denmark, in proof of its inutility ; such a practice deserves, however, more mature consideration than can be given it in this place.

superiority of our navy, and a continuation of the present flourishing state of our commerce, that can effectually bring about such a reduction of our national debt, as to bring us into what may be called easy circumstances, and to enable ministers to abolish the most obnoxious taxes. In such a happy situation, we may look with complacency on the debt of the nation, as a public stock belonging to certain individuals, who receive their interest quarterly, to be again diffused through the country, to the great advantage of every sort of industry and trade.

32. But this desirable state of public and private affairs can be maintained only by the strictest economy in our ministers, their vigilance over the transactions of foreign courts, their moderation, without timidity, in negociation, and a firm but secret resolution to maintain, if possible, peace with all the world. For war has now become so expensive, that I should dread such a farther accumulation of our debt, as has been incurred in our late contest with France. I speak with great diffidence on this subject, be-

cause equally unqualified with the most ignorant, to say with certainty, to what amount our debt may be carried, without risking the ruin of the nation. This is a speculation which has baffled the ablest of our financiers in former times ; for we now bear with ease near four times the debt that was said to be the *ne plus ultra* of our power about the beginning of the last century. But notwithstanding the present ease, affluence, and security in which we live, under the best government in the world, let no man be so hardy as to say, that our debt may be very considerably augmented, without danger to the state. That we are able to bear more than our present debt, I am confident ; but how much more, is impossible for any one to say with precision ; it is an experiment which has never yet, and I hope never will be tried ; lest our fate should be that of the bar of iron which bore ten tons to be suspended from it, without any apparent injury, but, on the addition of another ton, it snapped.

§3. The sinking fund, of one million yearly,

ly, as established by our excellent financier Mr. Pitt, with the accumulation of its power annually increasing, must, in times of peace, have a considerable effect in diminishing the public debt; but it can at no time be adequate to the liquidation of the many millions borrowed for our defence, in the expensive wars in which we are so frequently engaged. From the unbounded ambition and enmity of our restless neighbours, the intervals of peace are too short to allow the operation of the sinking fund to make any considerable impression on the debt contracted in the war immediately preceding. The inevitable consequence of funding every public loan for the exigencies of Government, for more than a century, has been a progressive increase of the public debt, from sixteen, to above five hundred millions. Hence it is evident, that the funding system, which has certainly raised our country to the high degree of power and prosperity it now enjoys, must ultimately prove our ruin, if some adequate means are not applied, to prevent any considerable addition to the present
large

large debt of the Empire. To obviate, as far as possible, this growing evil, besides the assessed taxes, which, from the rates being heightened, produce a greater sum than formerly, there have been, from time to time, several others granted by Parliament, sufficiently productive, to pay more than the interest of the loans demanded during the war. But some more effectual means being still wanted, to prevent the practice of funding every loan, and to facilitate the liquidation of part of the national debt, the income-tax bill was framed. Though great merit is due to Mr Pitt, for the sagacity he displayed in the formation of this bill, and for his indefatigable exertions in getting it passed through both houses of Parliament, yet many objections have been raised against it, not only on account of its being less productive than was expected, but from other supposed defects in the bill itself. It became accordingly unpopular, and was repealed at the peace. But to make up for this deficiency of the revenue, other additional taxes have been imposed on malt, hops, ale, windows, and

and other articles, which it is supposed will be equivalent to what we lose by giving up the income-tax.

34. Mr Addington, who, on account of his great abilities, and calm, conclusive manner of reasoning, on the business of the nation, has most deservedly obtained the confidence of the public, is of opinion, that if peace shall continue, the present revenue is sufficient to liquidate, in a few years, a great part of our national debt. This must be facilitated by the act of 1792, which provides, that on all future loans, (in addition to the taxes to be imposed, for paying the interest of the same), a surplus of one pound per cent. per annum, on the capital created, should be raised for the redemption of that capital; to which the minister has constantly adhered. If, after a few years trial of this plan, it shall be found to answer the expectations of Administration and the public; then must it be denominated the wisest scheme of finance that has hitherto been offered for the security of the creditors of the public, and safety of this country from every hazard of

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bankruptcy. It is this last circumstance which has afforded, for this century past, so many opportunities to the opposition in Parliament, of declaiming against the funding system, and with such plausibility of argument, as to gain a general belief of its impropriety, and danger to the state. Even men of abilities, unconnected with Administration, and who wish well to their country, have had the most dreadful apprehensions of the consequences of a continued increase of the national debt. From the present flourishing state of this nation, however, it is evident, that we are not yet arrived at the utmost extent of our power ; but it is to prevent even the approach of so dismal a catastrophe, that the above bills have been enacted ; and it is to be hoped they will answer the expectation of the Legislature. Besides, in time of peace, when our surplus revenue and the sinking fund come to operate, with the most decisive influence, in diminishing the debt of the nation, the obvious consequence must be, an alleviation of the public burdens, by a diminution or an abolition of such

such taxes as bear hardest on the industrious of the lower ranks. What ought in a great measure to silence the Opposition on this head, and to exhilarate every true patriot, is, that in this year 1802, five millions being annually appropriated for the redemption of the national debt, eighty-one millions are already redeemed, and, by the sale of the land-tax, forty-eight millions more will be annihilated in the course of five years.

35. The great wealth of the country, derived from the increase of our commerce, the riches acquired by individuals in India, and other parts of the world, the interest of our national debt, the dividends of the India and other mercantile companies, is not without its disadvantages. This superabundance of wealth lowers the value of money, augments the price of provisions, raises the wages of labour, and increases the price of manufactures; which must enable our rivals in trade to undersell us in foreign markets. The commerce of France and Holland, the two great

competitors with Britain for trade, being, in consequence of the late war, still in a state of depression, their rivalry cannot, perhaps, on account of our large capitals, be greatly felt for some time by this country. But we ought not to overlook the circumstance, that the very poverty of France and Holland will operate strongly against the mercantile interest of Britain, as the low prices of the necessaries of life will enable them to work cheaper, and to undersell us in many articles. This will probably be the case, not only in foreign nations, but even in our own markets, if not prevented by high duties on importation, for a limited time ; until we can furnish them on equal, or more beneficial terms, to the purchaser. For the too great accumulation of riches, in a mercantile state, is a disease that will cure itself, by the slow but certain reduction of our wealth ; which is generally accompanied with discontent among the workmen, who cannot, or will not, reason on the necessity of reducing the price of labour. I am not afraid of the too speedy re-

duction

duction of our debt, which will operate so slowly in its effects on trade and commerce, as scarcely to be felt for many years; but it is certain that the liquidation of every million will lessen proportionably the circulating capital of the kingdom.

36. Wealth, or rather easy circumstances, among the lower ranks, is the effect of their industry, and the price of labour apparently high, but in reality (from the rate of provisions) no more, for the most part, than is requisite for a moderate subsistence. If the wages of workmen, in certain employments, are higher than is consistent with a moderate profit on the manufacture, it is usually owing to large commissions for that article, and a scarcity of hands, which ceases as soon as other manufacturers come in competition with them. The same thing happens in other branches of trade, even where there is neither a scarcity of hands nor exorbitant wages; but the manufacturer is underfold in poorer countries, where provisions

and labour are cheaper. In this way, the wages of workmen, and the prices of manufactures, are gradually reduced, with some diminution of the public revenue, from an inability in the labourer to purchase the same quantity, as formerly, of such consumable commodities as are taxed. These are the usual consequences of a competition between nations for trade, which subsists, till the superior quality and cheapness of the commodity throws the sale in favour of the one or the other country. The poorer country has often, for some time, and for the reasons mentioned, an advantage over the more opulent; but money has such powerful effects on commerce, that it is observed to flourish most in the richest states. This, in such countries, is owing to the low rate of interest, the large capitals employed in trade, various kinds of machinery for facilitating and lessening the labour in certain manufactures, and the general improvement of the lands, which lessens the price of provisions.

SECTION III.

ON THE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE, AND MEANS OF ITS INCREASE, TO ANSWER THE RISING DEMANDS OF THE PUBLIC.

37. As the wages of labour, in most cases, must be regulated by the price of provisions, it is the duty of Parliament, and of the public in general, by every means in their power, consistent with the liberty of the subject, to increase the produce of the land, and to keep the prices as low as possible. But as the rate of every sort of provision brought to market, is in a great measure regulated by the price of grain, it is on the extension and encouragement of agriculture we ought chiefly to depend, for the reduction of the present high prices of the necessaries of life. This is the more necessary, as it is well known, that with the exception of barley, this country, which in former times produced more grain than was sufficient for its inhabitants, has,

during the last thirty years, been under the necessity of depending on the produce of foreign countries for a part of its supply. This fact, ascertained by the Customhouse books, and by dealers in grain, is the more extraordinary, as agriculture in Britain has been in a continued state of improvement during the currency of the last century, and particularly for these last forty or fifty years: but it may not be difficult to give some explanation of this seeming paradox.

88. From the great encouragement given, of late years, for the rearing of black cattle, the improvement of many farms has terminated in the enclosing and dividing the arable lands into fields for pasture. But the same, or rather a greater quantity of grain, being annually in demand, the proprietors of land, and farmers, have found it their interest to employ both skill and expence, and for the most part with considerable advantage, in bringing such lands into tillage, as afforded very little profit, while they remained in pasture. From the information of skilful farmers

ers of experience and observation, it appears to me certain, that the great quantity of what was formerly considered as waste lands, now brought into culture, greatly overbalances the increased number of grass farms. They likewise assert, that from the superior agriculture of our times, the same quantity of land, whether in grain or grass fields, is much more productive than formerly. The extraordinary demand for every species of animal food, as well as for grain, is chiefly owing to the great increased number of our mechanics, manufacturers, and labourers, throughout Britain, and the victualling of our Navy and merchant-ships, both of which have been gradually increasing for many years past. It is this greater demand for the productions of the earth, by artificers and manufacturers, employed in the fabrication of various articles for home consumption and exportation, and also in the victualling of our ships, that encourages agriculture, and increases population. But from this last circumstance, which has taken place from the increased wealth of the kingdom, as well

well as from other powerful causes I shall presently have occasion to mention, there has not been, for some time past, a sufficiency of land in tillage, to lower the price of grain.

39. By the extension of agriculture, just mentioned, and the more skilful manner in which it is carried on, to what was practised about fifty or sixty years ago, there is now more grain raised annually, than was in those days; but the consumption of it being greatly increased, it falls short of the demand. The number of saddle horses, and those for draught and wheel carriages, being greatly more than formerly, occasions a considerable demand for oats*. But the immense quantity of this last species

* As a considerable saving of this article, perhaps a third, some say near one half, may be made, by causing the oats to be cut or broken in the mill, before they are used; it may not be unworthy of the Legislature to take this circumstance under consideration, and to extend it at least to the cavalry, and the train and waggon horses of the army.

species of grain, used in the maintenance of horses, is not perhaps double the quantity of barley, and other kinds of grain, consumed by the distillers, in making malt spirits. It is true, that part of the grain used by the distillers is imported from foreign nations; but the quantity bought up by them, from the farmers of this country, is so great, as to have a decisive effect in keeping up the prices.

40. These several ways in which we know the increased annual produce of the land to be expended, are so many proofs of the general wealth and prosperity of the country. But the duration of this prosperity must be precarious and uncertain, while the prices of provisions continue high, and beyond the easy purchase of artists and manufacturers, especially if a competition.

army. On the same saving plan, it may not be improper to have a certain small portion of beans or peas, which are known to be a hearty food for horses, mixed with each ration of oats,

tition shall arise, in the same articles, with other countries who can afford to work cheaper. This scarcity of provisions is by some ascribed, as mentioned above, to an over-proportion of grass farms to the quantity of land in tillage ; but this is a mistake so obvious, that it scarcely deserves confutation. It is sufficient to observe, that when any product of the land falls short of the demand, the quantity for the market, whether of black cattle or of grain, ought to be augmented ; which can only be done by the division of commons, and the culture of waste lands, and thereby extending the grass, or corn fields, as much as is practicable. This, in some places, cannot be done with much effect, all the lands of the proprietors being already in tillage, or in grass, though not perhaps in the highest state of improvement ; but in many more districts it may, by the assistance of Parliament, be executed to a great extent.

41. The number of acres in commons, and in what are called waste lands, from their affording

fording little or no profit to the proprietors, but which are all more or less capable of cultivation and improvement, is immense in both kingdoms. As no exact measurement has been taken of the lands in this state, the quantity is uncertain. In a calculation I have seen of the number of acres remaining uncultivated, but capable of improvement, in England, Wales, and Scotland, for the accuracy of which, I pretend not, however, to vouch, they were estimated as follows:—

	Acres.
1. Lands incapable of improvement -	1,000,000
2. Proper for plantations -	3,000,000
3. For upland pasture -	14,000,000
4. For tillage -	3,000,000
5. Meadows, or water meadows -	1,000,000
Total	22,000,000

It is thought, that were these to be put in a state of cultivation and improvement, their annual produce might be fairly estimated as follows:

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1st Class	-	-	-	L.
2d, Plantations at 8s. per acre	-			1,200,000
3d, Upland pastures, at 5s. ditto *	-			3,800,000
4th, Arable land, at 10s. ditto	-			1,500,000
5th, Meadows, or water meadows, at 30s. ditto				1,500,000
				<hr/>
Total annual produce	-	-		8,000,000

—But as this sum must be considered only as a rent, so the value of the annual produce of the land ought to be estimated at twenty-four millions, or three times the rent, exclusive of the tithe, according to the customary mode of its valuation.

42. So great an extent of uncultivated territory, in a powerful kingdom, whose politics and resources have been for ages employed in expensive wars for the acquisition of foreign territory, of much less value than that which has been neglected at home, is a fact, though true, which will scarcely gain credit. It is, however,

* There is probably a mistake in the estimation of this article, as a great part of upland pasture is incapable of improvement,

however, to be hoped, now that the war is ended, into which we were forced, by a frantic, cruel, and dictatorial nation, that the Parliament will pay proper attention to the improvement of what may be called a new acquisition of territory, not to be taken from us in any future war, but with the loss of our island and our freedom. I was told in my youth, or learnt the precept from some book of wisdom, never to tell an improbable story, though I knew it to be true, lest my veracity should be called in question. This advice, I am afraid, is too applicable to the calculation I have made of the treasure that may be derived from the culture of the waste lands in Britain, which is so immense, that I deserve not, perhaps, entire credit for my assertion. But suppose we were to adopt Lord Chesterfield's measure of belief, in a certain case, and admit only one half; even then, our waste lands would annually produce more real wealth, than Spain has derived from her gold and silver mines in America. This is corroborated by some calculations I have lately seen, probably more correct than the above

table,

table, particularly that of the Committee of Waste Lands, which estimates them, in England alone, at seven millions eight hundred thousand acres. If we deduct from the table in page 413, the million of unimproveable acres, and the fourteen millions of upland pasture, both of which ought perhaps to be kept out of the table, then the amount will be near to that in the report of the above committee, with the difference of perhaps two millions of waste lands in Scotland, including the islands.

43. We are not, however, to suppose, that the uncultivated commons, and waste lands in Britain, even in the state in which they are presently kept, are altogether unproductive; they certainly are of some use to individuals in their neighbourhood, who take the opportunity of giving a scanty subsistence to a cow or two, a foal, or a few sheep. But this liberty is of little or no benefit to the public; it is even a disadvantage to the poor people themselves; for they being contented to live on a few potatoes and
pot-herbs,

pot-herbs, with the milk of their cow, they carry nothing to market, save a few annual fleeces, and sometimes a horse of little value. From the indolence and sloth in which these people choose to live, the value of their annual labour to the State cannot, even when collectively taken, be very great. I know not how it can be estimated; but, were this possible, I am persuaded that it would make no appearance, when compared to the lowest valuation of the produce of the lands, when improved. It is not even sufficient for their maintenance; of course, many of them become beggars, and a burthen on the parish. When a poor man has access to a common, to feed two or three cows, it makes him idle, from a dependence on their produce, which he obtains without labour. A singular proof of this fact, is, that an extensive common, in the parish of Charley in Suffex, is the chief cause of an extravagant assessment for the poor, of no less than nine shillings in the pound *. When the

* Sketches by Lord Kaimes.

Parliament shall be pleased to take into consideration the division and improvement of the commons and waste lands, some compensation, or small annuities, perhaps, ought to be given to the immediate sufferers, who may have leases from the proprietors of the commons ; which may be easily done, without any expence to Government, from the rents of the lands. If this happy event shall gradually take place, which I apprehend would suit the country much better than a rapid extension of the culture of these lands ; then provisions would become more reasonable, whilst population and manufactures would proportionably increase.

44. But as the most princely estate of an individual may, by waste, inattention, and the knavery of those employed in the management of it, be run out, and the proprietor become poor, in the midst of luxury and dissipation ; so the golden dreams of a new acquisition of territory, wealth, population, and power, may vanish. With the assistance, however, of Parliament,

liament, this may be prevented, by the establishment of such rules and regulations, for the division and improvement of the commons and waste lands, as may seem best suited to the present state of the country. After the greatest wisdom, justice, and impartiality, however, have been exercised on this subject, for the good of the whole, I doubt not of discontents arising among selfish individuals interested in the division of the lands. Government ought, however, like a good nurse, to hinder those, who are under its protection, from doing mischief to themselves or to others, of which some people are in perpetual pursuit. This, most likely, may be the case with those assuming a right in the property of the waste lands, who selfishly insist on the public good giving way to their private interest.

45. It is certain, that skilful farmers at present raise more rye-grass, clover, and other nutritive plants and roots, for the food of horses and black cattle, than was produced by triple the quantity of the same ground half a century ago.

From the late amazing increase in the distillation of malt spirits, arises another considerable source for the feeding of black cattle, which are bought up by the distillers in numbers proportioned to the extent of the distillery, and fattened on the grains, and what is called the bottoms of the stills, for the market. Of late years, a great part of the lands in the Highlands of Scotland has been converted into sheep-walks, as much more productive to the farmer, both on account of the fleece and the carcase, than when employed in the rearing of black cattle. But there still remain considerable tracts of country, better calculated for the breeding of small black cattle, than for any other use to which they could be employed by the farmer; of course they serve as a nursery for the rearing of bullocks and cows, which are mostly sold to the English drovers at our great markets for the sale of black cattle. These improvements in the feeding of beeves and sheep, have been gradual and progressive for many years; and the quantity of meat used is now much greater than formerly.

merly ; but on account of this greater demand, the prices have risen and kept pace with the increased quantity of beef and mutton brought to market. In small towns and villages, where, about fifty years ago, there were not killed above two or three sheep in the week, and never a bullock or cow, unless in November, when most of them were salted for the winter, there are now kept regular and full markets, once or twice a week, for every kind of butcher meat.

46. Though we have sometimes, from unfavourable seasons, a scarcity of grain, yet from the improvements in agriculture, and the extension of our corn fields, it is generally known and acknowledged, that, one year with another, there is now more grain raised and brought to market than formerly. From this circumstance, strangers, and persons unacquainted with the state of this country, would naturally suppose prices to have fallen ; but as the grain raised is insufficient for the maintenance of the inhabi-

tants, the value of this first necessary of life has risen. The price of wheat in the London market rose, towards the end of 1795, and beginning of the year 1796, to five pounds eight shillings and fourpence per quarter*. But this dearth could not perhaps be ascribed so much to unfavourable seasons, as to the desolation of a destructive war; the unavoidable neglect of agriculture in France, Germany, and Holland; the maintenance in Europe of above a million of sailors and soldiers, with a proportionable number of cavalry; and the immense waste which ever attends on fleets and armies. The great scarcity of all sorts of provisions in the year 1800, which rose nearly to a famine, must be ascribed to the same causes; with the aggravation of the failure of the crop 1799: the price of wheat rose at last to six pounds fourteen shillings and tenpence per quarter†, and all other grain

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* A Letter by Walter Boyd, Esq. M. P. page 85.

† Id, Ibid.

in proportion, except oats, which, on account of its scarcity, sold remarkably high †.

47. The rise in the price of provisions is probably owing to an increased population, to a greater quantity of industry being annually performed, and to the inhabitants living better than formerly : for it is certain, that notwithstanding the improvement of land, and the consequent

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† These are higher prices for grain than any I can recollect in the history of England, if we except those during the famine in 1270. The price of wheat, that year, according to Bishop Fleetwood, in his *Chronicon preciosum*, was four pounds sixteen shillings per quarter, or fourteen pounds eight shillings of our money ; and even rose to six pounds eight shillings per quarter, or nineteen pounds four shillings of our money. But if we take into consideration the greater efficacy of the precious metals in those days, in the purchase of the necessaries of life, the difference will be found so great, as scarcely, in our days, to gain belief. This great famine, in the reign of Henry the Third, was owing, if I remember right, to an almost total failure of the crops in the years 1269 and 1270, and some unfavourable seasons prior to that period.

increased quantity of provisions, there is still a deficiency, even in periods of peace. These causes, which constantly accompany each other, being slow in their progress, are apt to be overlooked, though they are the principal circumstances which have gradually enhanced the price of provisions during the greatest part of the last century. To other accidental causes, of a temporary nature, as war, bad seasons, &c. are usually ascribed the scarcity of particular years; for the gradual increase of population and wealth is not so obvious, though they may have arrived at such a height, as to account for the entire consumption of the crops of ordinary years of plenty. In such a situation, when the produce and consumption are so nearly balanced, the temporary causes, mentioned, act most decisively and suddenly, in raising the value of the produce of the earth, whether of grain or cattle, and likewise the price of labour; which fully proves the necessity of the further cultivation of commons and waste lands. A third cause is the low price of silver and gold, and their comparative inefficacy
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in the purchase of the necessaries of life. These three causes undoubtedly co-operate in heightening the prices of provisions. To obviate the effects of the two first, nothing can be so effectual as the farther improvement of our lands, of which, in many parts of the country, they are extremely capable.

48. I propose not any remedy for the over-proportion of the precious metals kept up by annual importation from South America ; for, though a real evil, it is a disease of which no one complains. Such is the nature of commerce, that the millions of gold and silver sent annually from South America to Spain and Portugal, are gradually dispersed through Europe, each nation receiving a quantity proportioned to their trade with the rest of the world. As Britain has been for many years past, and still continues to be, the greatest commercial nation in Europe, so there is a proportionably greater flux of the precious metals into her ports : this lowers their value, and increases the price of provisions. Chi-
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na and Hindostan are the chief outlets for the surplus quantity of silver, of which there is exported annually by the India Company, and persons in their service, or under their protection, upwards of a million Sterling; of which many complain, but it is a real benefit to the nation. It is true, that there has been a gradual rise in the price of provisions, from the commencement of the last century to this day; but it is equally true, that our commerce and wealth have likewise increased in an over-proportion to other nations.

49. Great advances in the culture of lands might be made, by granting premiums, under the direction of a committee of the House of Commons, conjoined to the Board of Agriculture, for the raising of certain crops, or plantations, according to the nature of the soil; always keeping in remembrance, that oak is much wanted in ship-building, not only for commerce, but defence, and annoyance in times of war. This is granting a bounty on production, but far different

different from that on the exportation of grain, by which the public is loaded with a double tax. From the premiums which might be bestowed on agriculture, pasturage, and plantation lands, the inhabitants would be amply repaid for what they may have contributed to these improvements, by the greater plenty and cheapness of the produce of the land.

50. It is by the culture of our fields alone, that the fruits of the earth can be increased beyond what nature spontaneously affords, which, in the northern countries of Europe, would fall greatly short of the necessary subsistence for the present inhabitants. For, the earth's spontaneous fruits being of a determined quantity, never can feed above a determined number: labour is a method of augmenting the productions of nature; and, in proportion to the augmentation, numbers may increase. From these positions, I conclude, that the number of mankind must ever have been in proportion to the produce of the earth; and this produce must constantly be in

the compound ratio of the fertility of the soil, and labour of the inhabitants. It was this idea which made a Chinese Emperor, of the family of Tangs, hold it as a maxim, that if there was a man who did not work, or a woman that was idle, some person must suffer cold or hunger in the empire. On this principle, he ordered an infinite number of monasteries of Bonzes to be destroyed *. Labour, or rather propensity to action, is congenial to man ; conduces to health and hilarity of spirits ; affords, on numberless occasions, pleasure and amusement ; which is greatly heightened by the reward of wealth, when employed with judgment.

51. The happiness derived from rural life, may be inferred, from the general practice of it ; for it is remarked by authors, that there is in the populous countries of France and England, at least one fourth of the inhabitants employed in agriculture. The estimation in which the culture

* Duhalde.

culture of lands was held by the Romans, scarcely needs to be mentioned ; their authors, *de re rustica*, are perhaps more numerous than those on any other subject, history excepted ; and this observation is likewise applicable to the Grecian republics. The treatise of Mago, the Carthaginian, on agriculture, in twenty-eight books, found on the reduction of Carthage by Scipio, being ordered by the Senate to be preserved and published, shewed the high estimation in which they held works of this kind, when composed by men of abilities *. Dioclesian, in his retirement at Salona in Dalmatia, refused to reassume the reins of government, preferring the cultivation of his garden to the purple itself. It was a maxim in the sacred book, or bible, of the ancient Persians, that he who cultivates the ground with care and diligence, acquires a greater stock of religious

* Columella, who flourished in the time of the Emperor Claudius, and wrote twelve books on husbandry, takes notice of this order of the Senate, for the translation and publication of the writings of Mago on the same subject.

religious merit, than he could by ten thousand prayers *. In consequence of this belief, it was a religious practice among the ancient inhabitants of Persia, called Gaures, to cultivate waste land, and to plant fruit-trees. This strong propensity in man, for the practice of agriculture, seems connected with the principle of self-preservation, and with that ardent desire which glows in every breast for future happiness ; as it is productive of both, when carried on with success. But this sort of useful amusement, with all the emoluments arising from an improved culture of our lands, is greatly obstructed in this country by entails, a species of tenure baneful to every nation in which it subsists ; the bad effects of which, I propose briefly to consider in the following Section.

* Zendavesta, Tom. I. p. 224. *Precis du Systeme de Zoroaster*, Tom. III.

SECTION IV.

ON THE BAD EFFECTS OF ENTAILS IN A MERCANTILE COUNTRY.

52. THE general plan of improvement I have proposed, would still be carried on with greater success, were the entails in Scotland abolished. For, by the restrictions with which proprietors are fettered by those deeds, the melioration of their estates, and consequently the population of the country, are proportionably obstructed. The entail, by subverting that liberty and independence, which all men covet with respect to their goods, as well as their persons, is a constant source of discontent ; the possessor of such lands feeling himself no more than a tenant for life. He who entails his land, subjects his successors to such restrictions, as render them less free, and give these heirs less the command of money, than others whose estates are held without such limitations.

53. Indeed, I have always thought, that entails were contrary to the spirit of our constitution, and to the genius of a mercantile nation, where as little obstruction ought to be given to the transference of land, as to that of any other property. The prohibitions that are given by entails to the sale of lands, are, in several ways, detrimental to commerce, and obstruct the prosperity of the country. How often does it happen, that creditors, by the deed of entail, are defrauded of their just debts! These sometimes amount nearly to the value of the estate; and, in some cases, I have known them exceed it. From this circumstance alone, entails appear to be a privilege, granted by law to rich individuals, to perpetuate their family and name at the expence of the public. This favours more of the assumed power of the ancient aristocracy, than of our present free constitution, in which we boast, that all are on an equality in respect to the laws.

54. These strong objections to the practice
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of locking up lands by entails, and thereby preventing them from being transferred with the same ease and security to the purchaser, as every other species of property, have long made me ardently wish for a repeal of the act of 1685. This act, undoubtedly, has been rendered less exceptionable, by the 10th of George III. c. 51, for encouraging the improvement of lands in Scotland, held under settlements of strict entail. But as they are still unalienable, the most material objections to this species of tenure continue to exist, to the diminution of the wealth and prosperity of the country. Even trust-deeds, carried to their utmost extent, as they often are in England, have all the bad effects of entails. Perhaps, no trust-deed, directing or limiting the succession of heirs to a landed estate, should be effectual beyond the life of the heirs in existence at the time.

55. This passion for the accumulation of lands, or of adding one estate to another, so prevalent among the rich, is somewhat similar

to the hoarding principle in animals; but the latter being guided by instinct, never exceed the necessity of the case. For such quadrupeds and insects, as hoard up, in the summer, provisions for the winter months, seldom exceed that quantity which is, with economy, sufficient for their maintenance, till the return of the mild weather, in the subsequent summer and autumn, when they renew their labour, to replenish their exhausted store. This is nature acting from instinct, which never fails of directing the animal to the best means for its preservation; but never prompts it to works of supererogation. The same principle of hoarding is inherent in man; but there is often in him an abuse of it, from a perversion of his reason, exciting him to an accumulation of wealth, beyond what is consistent with his situation in society. This may, at first, arise from a desire to provide against the possibility of want; but when his possessions have accumulated beyond what is necessary, even for artificial wants, then step in the pride and vanity of perpetuating his name to the latest posterity, by a strict entail of his estates.

56. Notwithstanding this delusive foresight, and great caution, one would imagine that his vanity would be hurt in the extreme, on reflecting that the younger branches of his family, especially the females, are to be left, after his decease, in a situation far inferior to that in which they were brought up and educated. Another great stroke to the pride of the family is, when the estate devolves on a collateral, in a mean situation in life; perhaps fitter to drive his late honour's carriage, than to preside at his table; and to the infinite prejudice of his daughters, when the destination of the estate is to heirs-male. This species of tenure is no doubt a relict of the feudal system; but as these proprietors are not now obliged to bring troops to the field, so, the law of primogeniture, as it respects heritage, appears to me unnatural and unjust. These few remarks, among many that might be made, are sufficient to enable us safely to conclude, that entails are not only detrimental to the improvement of the country in general, but that they abridge the sum of happi-

ness that might be enjoyed by the families they are meant to support. Though entailed estates are, for the most part, improveable to a considerable degree, yet, for obvious reasons, they are usually transmitted from one possessor to another, in nearly the same state they were ages ago. Strangers acquainted with the strong passion which great landholders have for perpetuating their names and hereditary possessions in their family, when travelling through this country, readily distinguish estates that are entailed, from those that are under no such incumbrance. The former are generally found unimproved, neglected, and, in some cases, in a state of nature; especially in some tracts of overgrown estates. * It is quite otherwise with those lands, that

* Large estates, not under entails, cannot materially obstruct the prosperity of a country; for the evil is but temporary, and, by partial sales, in time effects its own cure. Large estates, however strictly entailed, are certainly detrimental to a commonwealth; for the greater the number of proprietors in a state, the more numerous will be the friends

that have been now and then transferred from one person to another ; for every new purchaser endeavours to make such melioration of his farms, as he judges to be practicable and profitable, till at last they are brought to the highest state of improvement.

SECTION V.

THIRLAGE, AS A PERPETUAL SERVITUDE, OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED.

57. As every species of servitude, except that which is voluntary, is contrary to the spirit

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Friends and supporters of its government, as it increases the number of those who are materially interested in its welfare. But whenever the whole lands of a kingdom, as in Spain, and as was lately the case in France, are engrossed by a few, it is only those few that are more peculiarly interested in its welfare : for people, whose property is in money, or the produce of their industry, may leave the kingdom at pleasure, and cannot possibly take that warm interest in the fate of the country, which proprietors of lands, who, in some measure, may be said to be chained to the soil, must necessarily do.

and genius of a free people ; so all strictures on the liberty of the subject, that ancient laws and usages may have introduced and supported, ought to be abolished. Among these is thirlage, or that servitude by which lands are astricted, or thirled, to a particular mill ; and the possessors bound to grind their grain there, for payment of certain multures and sequels, as the price of grinding. The multures, and other deductions from the grain, meal, or malt, appear to have been fixed, at the first erection of the mill, usually by the proprietor of some adjacent estate, who brought into his thirlage other lands in the vicinity, with consent of the possessors, by way of compensation for the expence of building the mill, and keeping it in repair. The sequels are the small quantities of manufactured grain, given to the servants under the name of knaveship bannock, and lock or gowpen. The quantities paid to the mill by the lands not astricted, are generally proportioned to the value of the labour, and are called out-town, or outfucken multures ; but those paid by the thirl are usually higher, and are called in-town, or infucken multures.

58. Thirlage is either, 1st, of grindable corn ; 2d, of all growing corn ; or, 3d, of the *inveſta et illata*, i. e. of all the grain brought within the thirl, though of another growth. Where the thirlage is of grindable grain, it is in practice reſtricted to the corn which the tenants have occaſion to grind, either for the ſupport of their families, or for other uſes ; the ſurplus may be carried out of the thirl unmanufactured, without being in multure. Where it is of the *grana crescentia*, the whole grain growing upon the thirl is aſtricted, with the exceptions, 1st, of ſeed and horſe corn, which are deſtined to uſes inconſiſtent with grinding ; and, 2d, of the farm-duties due to the landlord, if they are delivered in grain, not ground. But if the rent be payable in meal, flour, or malt, the grain of which theſe are made, muſt be manufactured in what is called the dominant mill. The thirlage of *inveſta et illata* is ſeldom conſtituted, but againſt the inhabitants of a borough or village, that they ſhall grind the unmanufactured grain they import thither at the dominant mill. Multureſ,

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therefore,

therefore, cannot be exacted in a thirlage of *inveſta et illata*, for flour, or oatmeal, brought into the ſervient tenement, unleſs the importer had bought it in grain, and ground it at another mill. The ſame grain that owes multure, as *granum creſcens*, to the mill in whoſe thirl it grew, if it ſhall be afterwards brought within a borough, where the *inveſta et illata* are thirled, muſt pay a ſecond multure to the proprietor of that dominant tenement: but where the right of theſe two thirlages is in the ſame proprietor, he cannot exact both.

59. It is not meant, here, to give a complete hiſtory of the thirlage in this country: the above outline is ſufficient to ſhow, from the arbitrary manner in which theſe hardships are impoſed on the proprietors or tenants within the thirl, that it ought, by law, to be aboliſhed. Though, by the peruſal of the two preceding paragraphs, the chief objections to this ſpecies of ſervitude may be readily perceived, yet it may not be improper, by a few remarks, to bring them more immediately under our view.

60. The obligation on the inhabitants of a borough or village, that they shall grind all the unmanufactured grain they import thither, called *inveſta et illata*, at the dominant mill, is a diſagreeable ſtricture on the liberty of the ſubject. But when this grain has already paid multure, as *granum creſcens*, to the mill in whoſe thirl it grew, the ſecond payment of multure, as *inveſta et illata*, is evidently unjuſt and oppreſſive. It is well known, that the inſucken multures are in general kept higher, than thoſe exacted as outſucken multures : the ſervants take advantage of this ſervitude to the mill, and, on pretence of their ſequels, rob their employers of an undue quantity of meal, which raiſes the price of grinding proportionably. But the proprietor, or tackſman of ſuch a mill, uſually recommends himſelf to the public, and gains customers, by exacting no more for grinding the grain which grew out of his thirl, than the common allowance for his labour, and uſe of the mill ; which is equitable and juſt. Steel mills, for the grinding of malt, were introduced about
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the beginning of last century, to the great emolument of the brewers, who live not within the thirl of a mill. But those who are comprehended in that servitude, must grind at the mill, paying the customary dues ; or, if they grind it at home, pay dry multure to the dominant mill.

61. The establishment of a thirl by contract, between the proprietor of a mill and others possessing lands in its neighbourhood, for a term not exceeding ninety-nine, or a hundred years, may be no more than a just compensation for the expence of building the mill, and keeping it in repair ; but a perpetual thirlage is contrary to the spirit of a free constitution. Such an oppressive burden on the subject ought to be totally abolished ; but I could wish it to be done with as little detriment as possible to the proprietors of these mills. How this is to be effected, I shall not presume precisely to say ; it is a subject which ought to be left to persons intimately acquainted with the business and profits of a mill. Millers, gentlemen of landed property, with one
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Or two lawyers, to examine the original contracts, and practice of the mill, sworn as a jury, may be sufficient to form an estimate of what might be a proper compensation for the proprietor of the dominant mill to receive for a renunciation of his privilege. It will appear to such intelligent men, that it is not twenty, or twenty-five years purchase of the whole profits arising from the employment of the mill, that ought to be given, but only what might be fully estimated as an advantage, which the proprietor of the dominant mill has in the infucken, above that of the outfucken multures *.

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* Since writing the above, I have seen the heads of a bill, for commuting multures and services, due to a third or dominant mill, into an annual payment in grain or money, according to the fiars, at Candlemas; which, if universally adopted, may have the same good effects, in regard to improvable lands, that the fixing of the tithe has had on similar occasions in Scotland. From this bill, I perceive, that such towns and villages as are burdened with multures on the *invecta et illata*, are empowered to purchase this perpetual annuity, after its proper valuation by a jury. The same practice

SECTION VI.

ON THE ADVANTAGES OF A FREE AND UNLIMITED COMMERCE IN GRAIN, AND BAD EFFECTS OF A BOUNTY ON EXPORTATION.

62. IN Section 3d, reasons are given for the gradual rise of the price of provisions, with the progressive increase of our manufactures and commerce. There are, however, other causes, which have a decisive influence, not only in raising the price of provisions, but in obstructing the improvement of our lands, which shall be

practice may be followed, after the annual payment of mulctures or money at the dominant mill has been fixed, by a purchase of this annuity from the proprietor of the thirl, which must be of great advantage to the subsequent possessors of the lands so thirled. Notwithstanding this bill has passed into a law, I have not crossed out this last Section, that the nature of thirlage, and the advantages that must arise from its entire abolition, may fully appear.

be considered in the subsequent Sections. In the present, I mean to examine into the propriety of the bounty granted by the British Parliament, on the exportation of grain to foreign parts ; and, after viewing this measure in every possible light, and with the utmost impartiality, I cannot help considering it as a solecism in politics. The exportation of the surplus quantity of the fruits of the earth, and produce of the soil, or of any manufacture, is a benefit to the state. This is the foundation of all foreign traffic, in so far as the produce of the land, and manufactures of the nation, are concerned : many of these last, from small beginnings, scarcely sufficient for home consumption, have now become considerable articles in commerce. This cannot be more strongly exemplified, than in the article of wool, formerly exported to Flanders and other parts of the Continent, as the staple commodity of the kingdom ; the exportation of which, however, has been long prohibited, until manufactured, which it now is, into an immense variety of the most valuable articles of commerce. The
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same flow, but progressive improvement, which has attended the manufactures of brass, iron, and steel, has raised the reputation of our artists and workmen in these metals, to at least an equality, in most articles, with those of other nations, and, in some, their superior skill and neatness are evident. The division of labour, the dexterity of our workmen, and the machinery for facilitating and lessening labour, employed in our manufactures, give a decisive superiority, not only in the neatness, but in the cheapness of several of our articles in foreign markets.

63. I have selected the manufactures from wool, brass, and iron, as they may be carried to an almost unlimited extent; for the quantity of wool produced in this country is very great, and iron ore and pit-coal are apparently inexhaustible. Similar observations might be made on several other of our manufactures, particularly on those of cotton cloth and muslins. For, since the invention of Mr. Arkwright's celebrated machine, (whose powers are so great,
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and execution so accurate, as to spin, of almost any fineness, above four thousand threads at one time, by the impulse of a water-wheel), the manufacture of cotton can be limited only by the demand in foreign markets. The exportation of the surplus quantity of these and many other articles of traffic in this country, where the price of the raw materials bears no proportion to the value of the complete manufacture, adds greatly to the influx of wealth among the industrious inhabitants of the kingdom. But as the extent of our foreign sales depends on the comparative goodness and cheapness of our manufactures, and this on the low price of provisions in this country, every means ought to be adopted, which may tend to keep the prices of them at a reasonable standard.

64. I mean not that the exportation of grain, in plentiful years, should be prohibited; which would be inconsistent with the freedom of trade, and of our constitution. But to give an unnatural spur to exportation, by granting a bounty
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of five shillings per quarter on wheat, when at or below forty-eight shillings, and in proportion for the other species of grain, is impolitic, as it has a tendency to oppress the labouring poor, whom we ought to cherish. It is a specious, but false argument, that the price of labour is in most cases proportioned to that of provisions; for, in some districts, the price of labour is scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of a family; while in some of the manufacturing towns they are too high to be consistent with the prosperity of our trade. A certain portion of the wages of the industrious labourer goes regularly to the Exchequer, in the duties on leather, soap, candles, salt, malt liquors, and malt spirits: but these lucrative branches of the revenue, in the present state of our public debt, are indispensable. As these taxes, however, operate decisively in raising the price of labour, and have all the bad consequences of such an effect on our manufactures; so, the heightening the price of provisions, by a bounty on the exportation of grain, is certainly an oversight in the Legislature.

ture. This forced exportation, by means of a bounty, operates several ways, in increasing the price of grain in the home market ; it prevents the plenty of one year from compensating the scarcity of another ; and this scarcity the Legislature inadvertently seems anxious to preserve, by imposing a duty on importation ; which must discourage the industry of the country, and, consequently, population. For, to prohibit, by a perpetual law, the importation of foreign corn and cattle, is, in reality, to enact, that the population and industry of the country shall at no time exceed what the produce of its own soil can maintain. Besides, the bounty on exportation loads the whole realm, when wheat is near to forty-eight shillings a quarter, with two different taxes, most severely felt by the industrious labourer : the one is, what is contributed for payment of the bounty ; and the other is, the tax which arises from the advanced price of the commodity in the home market.

65. This rise in the price of grain, sold in our markets for home consumption, is supposed,

by the philosophical Smith *, to be a much heavier burthen on the people, than the payment of the bounty for the grain exported. The Doctor follows the well-informed author upon the Corn Trade, who says, that the average quantity of grain exported in plentiful years, is to that left for home consumption, no more than as one to thirty-one. This exportation the Doctor alleges should raise the price of grain in the home market, at least four shillings per quarter, above what it would have sold at, had there been no bounty on exportation. Upon these two data, which he supposes himself warranted to support, the great body of the people, over and above the tax which pays the bounty of five shillings upon every quarter of wheat exported, must pay another four shillings upon every quarter which they themselves consume. From this way of reasoning, it follows, that for every five shillings with which they are assessed for payment of the first tax, they must contribute six pounds four shillings for payment of the second.

* Wealth of Nations. London, 1789. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 266.

- 66. Though my differing in opinion from so celebrated an author may carry the appearance of presumption, yet I cannot acquiesce in the rise of four shillings per quarter on the wheat in the home market, above what it would have sold, had there been no exportation. This considerable rise in the price of grain, in the home market, is a mere supposition, not supported by any fact, on which we can depend; nor is it probable, that there would be any great rise produced in the prices, by exportation, whilst there was a sufficiency of grain in the country for home consumption. I am rather inclined to believe, that the forced exportation of wheat, at so considerable a premium, as five shillings per quarter, had the effect of increasing the culture of grain, equal at least to the quantity exported, without raising its value, especially when the prices were much below forty-eight shillings. But when wheat rose near to this valuation, then some rise in the market would probably take place, and the country would be loaded with the double tax mentioned by our learned author, the people being unconscious of the real cause of the

high prices of grain. By the Doctor's calculation, when the bounty on the exportation of grain, for the year, paid out of the public revenue, amounts to one hundred thousand pounds, the rise of four shillings per quarter on thirty-one times the quantity exported, will amount to two millions, four hundred and eighty thousand pounds Sterling, paid mostly by the industrious poor of Britain, on the quantity of grain consumed within the year.

67. In the ten years of plentiful crops, from 1741 to 1750 inclusive, it appears from the Custom-house books, that the quantity of all sorts of grain exported, amounted to no less than eight millions, twenty-nine thousand, one hundred and fifty-six quarters, one bushel. The bounty paid for this, was one million, five hundred and fourteen thousand, nine hundred and sixty-two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence halfpenny. It did not, however, appear that the public was oppressed with any rise in the home market, on account of the great exportation which took place during that period.

notwithstanding the extravagant calculation in the preceding paragraph. The fact is, that all sorts of grain were then cheaper than they have been since the year 1751, on account of an increased population, and industry of the country ; which causes, operating progressively, the exportation, and consequent bounty, began gradually to diminish, while the importation of foreign grain proportionably increased *. It was not so much owing to some bad seasons, (of which, however, there were several), that the quantity of grain exported continued to diminish ; but to the causes just mentioned, and the flourishing state of our trade, which occasioned considerable demands on the farmer, for victualing ships employed in our commerce with foreign countries. This points out, in the strongest light, the necessity of the improvement of our lands ; and ought to teach us, that whatever may hereafter be the flourishing state of agriculture, our grain should never be forced, by a premium, into foreign countries ; and the safest

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prevention

* *Vide* the Appendix, No. I.

prevention of such a destructive practice, will be a repeal of the laws granting bounties on exportation, and duties on importation.

68. The motives held out by Parliament for passing the act in the first session of William, at the Revolution, in 1688, by which the forced exportation of grain, by a bounty, was first established, were at least specious. It was generally allowed, that the exportation of the surplus quantity of any commodity would increase the extent and value of the manufacture, and, in the case of grain, would encourage and improve the agriculture of the country. This must hold true in every country, where, from the fertility of the soil, proper culture, and favourable climate, a larger quantity of grain is raised, than is wanted for the maintenance of its inhabitants.

69. When Sully entered on the administration of the French finances, corn in France was at an exorbitant price, from a neglect of husbandry during the civil war. That sagacious Minister clearly perceived, that by a free exportation

tation of grain, an improved and a more extensive agriculture would take place ; and a royal edict was issued accordingly for that purpose. So rapid was the success of that bold, but politic measure, that, in a few years, France became the granary of Europe ; and, what at present may appear wonderful, there is in the English records, *anno* 1621, bitter complaints of the French underselling them in their own markets. Colbert, fortunately for us, having imbibed the common error, renewed the ancient prohibition of exporting corn, hoping thereby to have it cheap at home for his manufacturers ; but he was grossly mistaken, for that measure has been the chief cause of many famines in France, since that time *. This prohibition of the exportation of grain from France became so ruinous to agriculture, and was so sensibly felt by the whole nation, that at last edicts were issued, authorising the commerce of corn to be absolutely free. But the general poverty of the farmers of land in France, and their want of sufficient stock and capital,

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pital,

* Sketches of the History of Man, by Lord Kames, p. 414. Edin. 1788. Vol. II.

pital, prevented those good effects, that might have been expected from such edicts. In the year 1768, the badness of the harvest occasioned a famine, the distresses of the people were excessive, and their complaints universal. Overlooking altogether the bad harvest, they attributed their misery to the new law. It was urged, in vain, that freedom in the corn trade encourages agriculture: the popular opinion was adopted, even by most of the Parliaments: so difficult it is to eradicate established prejudices,

70. About forty years ago, a Grand Vizier permitted corn to be exported more freely than had been done formerly; a bushel of wheat being sold at that time under seventeen pence. Several nations flocked to Turkey for corn; and, in particular, no fewer than three hundred French vessels, from twenty to two hundred tons, entered the Bay of Smyrna in one day. The Janissaries and populace took the alarm, fearing that all the corn in the country would be exported, and that a famine would ensue. In Constantinople they grew mutinous, and were

not

not appeased till the Vizier was strangled, and his body thrown out to them. His successor, cautious of splitting on the same rock, prohibited, under severe penalties, the exportation of grain. In that country, rent is paid in proportion to the product ; and the farmers, who saw no demand, neglected tillage. In less than three years, the bushel of wheat rose to six shillings ; the distress of the people became intolerable ; and, to this day, the fate of the good Vizier is lamented. The low price of wheat at Smyrna will scarcely be credited by many in this country ; but it is the usual market price of the Levant, and in Barbary, in plentiful years. Shaw, in his Travels through Barbary, says, in that country a bushel of the best wheat is sold for fifteen, and seldom rises so high as eighteen pence.

71. It must be here remarked, that the surplus quantity of grain is exported from these fruitful countries, at the expence and risk of the corn merchant, who, after adding the charges of freight, insurance, and other incidents, to the prime cost of the grain, sells his cargo in some distant

distant port with profit; which must raise the price considerably above that in the country from whence it was exported. But it is otherwise in Britain, where the exportation of grain is encouraged by bounty, till wheat rises to forty-eight shillings per quarter, which is considerably above the common contract price in ordinary years. By means of this bounty, the corn dealer is enabled not only to defray every expence attending the exportation of his grain to neighbouring nations, but to sell it, with a profit, often cheaper than we have it at home. This was the secret and ultimate view of the majority of the House of Commons, when the bill passed in 1688, granting the bounty on exportation. The plentiful supply of the home market was not the direct object of that statute; but, under pretence of encouraging agriculture, to raise the price of corn as high as possible, and thereby occasion a constant scarcity in the home market.

72. From favourable seasons, it was found that the price of grain, previous to the passing of
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of the act, had fallen ; the bounty was an expedient to raise it artificially to the high price at which it had frequently been sold in the times of Charles the First and Second. It was to be paid, therefore, till wheat should be at forty-eight shillings per quarter ; but this was a price so high, as could not, at that time, without such an expedient as the bounty, be expected. For, by the calculation of Mr. King, on the average contract prices of wheat for several years anterior to the Revolution, it was twenty-eight shillings per quarter, which contract price is always two or three shillings cheaper than the market price. The government of King William not being then fully settled, it was in no condition to refuse any thing to the House of Commons, composed of gentlemen of landed property, from whom it was at that very time soliciting the first establishment of the annual land-tax.

73. To encourage tillage, by keeping up the price of corn, even in the most plentiful years, was the avowed end of the landed property ; and perhaps, at first, it had the effect intended.

tended. In proof of this, the corn merchants, and others interested in the continuation of the bounty, assert, that the price of grain, during the sixty-four first years of the eighteenth century, and before the late extraordinary course of bad seasons, was somewhat lower than during the sixty-four last years of the preceding century. This fact is attested, not only by the accounts of Windsor market, but by the public fiars* of all the different counties in Scotland, and by the accounts of several different markets in France, which have been collected with great diligence and fidelity, by Mr Messance, and by Mr Dupre de St Maur. This evidence is unquestionably more complete than could well have been expected, in a matter which is naturally so very difficult to be ascertained.

74. But these facts by no means prove that the moderate price of grain, during the above period, was owing to the bounty on exportation;

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* This is a record of an annual valuation upon oath, according to the actual state of the markets, of all the different sorts of grain in every county in Scotland.

it took place in spite of the bounty, which must have had, in some degree, a contrary effect on the prices of grain in Britain. Certain states may have granted premiums for the general improvement of agriculture; oftener, however, for the production of a particular commodity: But it was reserved for the British Legislature alone, to grant a bounty on the exportation of grain. It appears not that this bounty has had any remarkable effect on the improvement of our lands; for the prices of grain in France were equally cheap with those in Britain, though, to the year 1764, the exportation of grain in that country was subjected to a general prohibition. The true and indisputable cause of our progressive improvement in agriculture during the last century, is the increased demand for the fruits of the earth, which has kept pace with the great extension of our manufactures and trade to foreign parts. This is fully ascertained, by the rise of the rents of farms throughout Britain; particularly in Scotland, where many of them are double, triple, quadruple, and even higher, than they were
fifty

fifty years ago ; which flatly contradicts the necessity of a bounty.

75. If the bounty on exportation was ever justifiable, it certainly is not so now, nor ever can be, while there is not a sufficiency of grain for home consumption ; as has been the case for many years past. Continuing the bounty, till wheat was at forty-eight shillings per quarter, which always implies a scarcity, was a most extraordinary resolution in Parliament ; but the duty at that time on importation, though small, cannot be mentioned by a softer word than iniquitous, as it had an evident tendency to increase the scarcity then subsisting. The experience of other nations, shews clearly, that nothing contributes more to the cheapness of provisions in general, which ought to be studied by every mercantile nation, than a free and unlimited importation and exportation of grain. If an unrestrained freedom to the corn trade were established, the fluctuation of prices, now so frequent, inconvenient, and hazardous to the dealers in grain, would be greatly lessened. The small quantity

quantity of foreign corn imported, even in times of the greatest scarcity, may satisfy our farmers that they have nothing to fear from the freest importation ; for the average quantity imported annually, according to the author of the *Traacts on the Corn Trade*, amounts to no more than 23,728 quarters of all sorts of grain. So small a quantity is estimated, by this very accurate author, not to exceed the five hundred and seventy-first part of the annual consumption ; which can have very little or no influence on the price in the home market. Though the calculation, by this author, of the quantity of grain formerly imported, is greatly inferior to what has taken place since the commencement of the war with the republic of France, yet it invalidates not our reasoning on this subject : On the contrary, the bounty granted by Parliament, from the necessity of the case, on importation, must plead at all times most effectually for a free commerce in grain.

76. The forced exportation of grain, by means of a bounty, must, in certain years, approaching

proaching to a scarcity, bring on that unfortunate calamity, when, on account of the high price of grain, the bounty ceases ; but the country suffers, till a free importation takes place. By an unrestrained freedom to the corn trade, we should escape these disagreeable circumstances ; it would bring us more on a level with neighbouring nations, our rivals in trade, and prevent their eating our grain at a cheaper rate than we can, to the detriment of our manufactures. It would likewise prevent those frequent returns of scarcity, which obstruct the population of the country, and oppress the indigent, burdened with the maintenance of children, whom they are unable to educate. The impropriety of the present established system for regulating the corn trade is sufficiently demonstrated, by the temporary laws, prohibiting, for a limited time, the exportation of corn, and taking off the duties upon its importation. These expedients, to which Great Britain has been obliged so frequently to have recourse, shew, that if that system had been good, she would not so often have been reduced to the necessity of departing from

from it. But, from the many evils with which this baneful traffic has been fraught, it is to be hoped that Parliament will, in time, abolish the bounty upon exportation, and duty on importation of grain ; that our trade, in that first necessary of life, may be free, and without restraint. Indeed, from forty-eight shillings having become a moderate price for the quarter of wheat, exportation, and, of course, the bounty, has ceased for many years ; but the act for its establishment is not yet repealed. From the very high prices of grain, the consequent distress of the labouring poor, for some years past, and the bounties of late granted on importation, there cannot remain a doubt of the propriety of the repeal of such acts as interfere with a free and unlimited commerce in grain.

SECTION VII.

ON THE BRITISH DISTILLERY.

77. The flourishing state of the British distillery, has, of late years, occasioned such a con-

466 ON THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES THAT

considerable demand on the farmer, as deserves to be particularly considered. But, for want of that correct information I find so difficult to obtain, it will not, in this place, be in my power to go much farther than a general view of the revenue arising from the duties on malt spirits in Scotland, from the Union to 1786, while under survey; and from that period to the present year, when under license, which is as follows:

	YEARS.	DUTIES.	
For one year ending	1708.	L. 901 12 5	
Medium of 10 years from	1709 to 1719	2534 10 0	
Ditto ditto	1720 to 1729	3344 8 0	
Ditto ditto	1730 to 1739	4807 18 8	
Ditto ditto	1740 to 1749	7214 0 0	When under Survey
Ditto ditto	1750 to 1759	11,474 18 7	
Ditto ditto	1760 to 1769	5423 16 9	
Ditto ditto	1770 to 1779	7878 11 6	
Do. of 7 years, including	1780 to 1786	60,603 2 8	
Do. of 9 years, including	1787 to 1795	56,453 2 6	When under License
Do. of 3 years, including	1796 to 1798	173,604 14 10½	

N. B. In the year ending 1708, the number of gallons of spirits distilled was 72,129, at threepence per gallon. The duties increased from time to time, till 1780, and were then at the rate of 4s. 11⁸/₉d. per gallon. License duty

duty commenced in 1786, on the capacity or content of each still, including the head, at the yearly sum of - L. 1 10 0

License duty, Ditto in 1788, on do. 3 0 0

Ditto ditto in 1793, on do. 9 0 0

Ditto ditto in 1795, on do. 18 0 0

Ditto ditto in 1796, on do. 54 0 0

Ditto ditto in 1798, on do. 54 0 0

And one shilling on every gallon of spirits found on the first survey, on or after 13th June 1798, in the stock of any dealer or distiller ; and upon every gallon, until the 10th April 1799, which shall be distilled in the Lowlands. From the 10th August 1798, the officers to take an account of malt and raw corn to be distilled, before ground down, and charge the raw corn with the same duty as malt.

78. Though I am confident as to the accuracy of the above account, shewing the gradual increase of the revenue from malt spirits, and giving the medium amount of every ten years, progressively, from the Union till 1780 ; yet it is impossible,

possible, from the duties collected, to give any tolerable estimate of the quantity of grain consumed, at any particular period, by the distillers. For the quantity of spirits which paid the duty, during the greatest part of last century, did not perhaps amount to a third part of what was manufactured and smuggled. But, supposing the smuggling, in which my countrymen have always been amazingly dexterous, to have gone on, in the year 1708, in the same ratio to the number of gallons entered, as in the succeeding years ; still it will appear, that the spirits, then manufactured, bear no proportion to the immense quantity which have been distilled in this country for many years past. This increasing distillation must have been owing to a gradual rise in the demand for malt spirits, not only for home consumption, but exportation, since the commencement of last century ; but still it remains with us to account for the small quantity manufactured in the year 1708, and for some time after that period. It must here be recollected, that previous to 1707, the Scots, perceiving that an union of the two kingdoms would

would soon take place, and that the low duties of Scotland, on the brandies of France, would soon be raised to the higher duties of England, the capitals of spirit-dealers were employed in so large an importation of brandy, that it diminished considerably the sale of malt spirits for a great number of years. This effect, however, must not be ascribed altogether to the very large importation of brandy, antecedent to the Union; but partly to a successful smuggling of that commodity for many years after, by which the merchants and dealers in spirits, strove to keep up their entered stock of brandy.

79. This practice appears to have been carried on, more or less, but always to a considerable extent, during the greater part of last century, not only in regard to brandy, and other smaller articles, but to tea, which might be regarded as the staple commodity of the illicit trade. The severe laws enacted, from time to time, against smuggling, seem not to have had any considerable effect: for, on the 11th February

1784, the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to examine into the state of the illicit trade of this country, reported, that it had greatly increased ; that the public revenue was thereby defrauded of upwards of two millions Sterling ; and that these enormities, and national losses, merited the early, and most serious attention of Parliament. This report was a preliminary step to some Parliamentary regulations for the suppression of smuggling ; the principal of which was, the commutation-act, which passed that session, and gave a more effectual check to the illicit trade, than all the preceding acts of the Legislature. By this act, the duties on tea were lowered so considerably, as to leave very little temptation to the smuggling of that article ; and, by certain restrictions, the risk and danger of the illicit trader were considerably increased. For, in the same session, was passed another act, extending the distance from shore, at which legal captures might be made of vessels carrying contraband goods ; prohibiting the building of vessels of certain dimensions, and the arming them beyond a certain extent ; with other

other regulations, which have had decisive effects in restraining the practice of smuggling.

80. But tea being the principal article from whence the profits of the smuggler, when successful, arose, and the temptation to an illegal traffic in this commodity being taken off by the low duties, the smuggling of brandy, which was only a secondary branch of this commerce, greatly diminished. On this decrease of the smuggling of brandy, the home consumption of malt spirits proportionably increased. But, independent of this great restraint on the smuggling of brandy and gin, there were other causes, which operated powerfully in promoting the distillation of malt spirits. The duty on ale in 1760, of three shillings per barrel, lessened the sale of the brewers, and proportionably increased the demand on the distillers. The great rise of the revenue, however, from 1780, on the article of spirits, was almost solely owing to a distillation being carried on by Messrs Stein, Haig, Aitchison, and others, for the English market, on a much larger scale than was ever before practised

in this country. Though very little of the spirits manufactured by these gentlemen were sold in Scotland, yet spirits from other distilleries became unfortunately so plenty, as to be within the easy purchase of the lower ranks, to the great detriment of their health and morals. From the cheapness of this baneful liquor, they often met in clubs, where the wildest, most unconstitutional, and democratical principles were propagated ; productive of discontent and unhappiness to themselves, and disturbance to the public peace.

81. When the additional duty on ale took place, the brewers attempted to raise proportionably their prices ; but the public refusing to comply with this reasonable demand, they were obliged to lower the quality of their ale and porter. From this period, when malt liquors lost much of their cordial and inebriating quality, we may date the gradual, but progressive increase in the sale of malt spirits. At what time the act passed, obliging the retailers of British spirits to take out licenses, I know not ; nor can

I find any regular record of the number of licenses granted annually, by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, to the retailers within the royalty, or Justices of Peace within the county of Edinburgh, till the year 1765. From the first three years of this record, it appears, that the number of licenses issued, either for the town or county, were inconsiderable ; but, from 1768, they gradually increased to double, and sometimes to triple their former number,

82. Those who would wish to know the specific number for each year, I must refer to a table in the Appendix *. But, in this place, it will be sufficient to observe, that from 1765, to 1775, one year with another, the licenses given out for the town and county amounted to 1059 ; from 1776 to 1785, to 1612 ; and from 1786 to 1796, inclusive, to 1634. This exhibits not all the venders of British spirits, in retail, for the town and county of Edinburgh ; upwards of two hundred delinquents being annually brought
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* *Vide* the Appendix, No. II.

before the Justices of Peace, for dealing in that commodity without a license; and more than an equal number are supposed to have escaped unnoticed. The licenses for retailing British spirits, in the city and shire of Edinburgh, amount annually to upwards of two thousand; exceeding, by some hundreds, the annual number for wines and foreign spirits for all-Scotland; which shews an astonishing increase in the home consumption of malt spirits. I am unable to suggest any remedy for this growing evil, unless to increase the duty on licenses, as already adopted by Parliament; and to lower the duties on malt liquors, or to lay the whole duty on the malt, which would certainly be of great advantage to both the brewer and consumer. It is the opinion of men, versant in these subjects, that by this last mode of collecting the duty, the number of revenue-officers might be considerably lessened, and the revenue raised to the amount, at least, of what is at present levied from both the malt and malt liquors.

83. The duties on malt spirits in Scotland,
were

were raised, in 1780, to 4s. 11 $\frac{8}{10}$ d. per gallon ; the intention of which seems to have been, to suppress, as far as possible, distillation in that country. But this experiment produced not the desired effect ; for proof spirits were every where sold considerably below the amount of that duty. So high a tax was equivalent to a prohibition, and was probably imposed, in consequence of repeated complaints from the distillers in England, against the Scots, for underselling them in their own markets, for home consumption, while they did not pay to Government one fiftieth part of the revenue levied from the English distillers. In a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1788, held to consider of an equalizing duty for both nations, it was observed, that at a former period, when the distillers in Scotland were under survey, great frauds had been committed, and that, in one particular year, no less than three hundred thousand gallons had been imported from Scotland, over and above the quantity for which the duty had been paid in that country. There are other observations, of less moment, relative to this subject, which I omit to mention :

mention ; neither do I judge it necessary to take notice of the several ways by which the revenue was defrauded, by both the English and Scots distillers, when under survey. My chief intention being to shew, that the quantity of grain used by the distillers, calculated even from the duties collected, while under survey, must have been very considerable, though greatly short of the real number of quarters consumed by them.

84. But, from the hour the Scots distillers obtained their license, the consumption of grain increased considerably above the quantity used, when under survey ; they filling their large stills, used at the commencement of the license-duty, from four to six times in the twenty-four hours. Experience, however, taught the distillers, that, to draw off the greatest quantity of spirits from their wash or low wines, in a given time, the contents of their stills ought not to exceed fifty or sixty gallons. The still is now of a singular construction, not much above two feet deep, but four feet wide, with a tube of about six or eight inches diameter, rising from the centre
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to the height of ten or twelve feet, where it is gradually contracted, and bent downwards, to form the worm in the cooler. A fierce fire being applied to the sides, as well as to the flat bottom of this vessel, they were enabled to fill their still every hour ; but by increasing the number of tubes rising from the body of the still, and ending each in a distinct worm and cooler, they can now finish a distillation in less than eight minutes. They mash chiefly unmalted grain, from its yielding the greatest quantity of spirits ; and distillation is carried on so rapidly, as to render the spirits unfit for any consumer or trader, except the rectifiers and compounders of brandy, gin, cinnamon, and other distilled waters. As these spirits, commonly above proof, could not, in their imperfect state, be used in home consumption, none were sold here, but were sent by contract to certain rectifiers in England. But as this consumption of grain by the distillers, must, in years of scarcity, increase the evil, restrictions ought to be imposed, in order to obviate that effect. Foreign grain ought perhaps to be the subject of their manufacture, when wheat in
this

this country is above forty-six shillings per quarter; and it is to be wished, that the duties were regulated in such a manner, as to induce the lower ranks to prefer the use of malt liquors to that of spirits.

85. From the immense quantity of grain consumed by the distillers, the immorality introduced and extended with the practice of smuggling, and the consequent defalcation to the revenue, the utility of the distillery to the State, with many, becomes doubtful. But these, with the abuse of this valuable article by the lower ranks, are the chief objections to the distillery. If we except, however, the waste of grain, the rest may be in a great measure obviated by an annual duty on the contents of the still, so high, as to raise the price of spirits beyond the easy purchase of the poor, in any considerable quantity. To fix the extent of this duty, would require the calm judgment of men of abilities and experience in the sale of spirits; so that the price be not raised so high, as to give encouragement to the importation and smuggling of French brandy,

brandy, which is likely to take place in times of peace. It would be absurd to condemn the use, it is only the abuse of this cordial liquor, of which we disapprove : it is an indispensable article with chemists, in many of their processes. The apothecary cannot practise without it : being a solvent of all resinous substances, it is a principal article in our best varnishes, and is extremely useful in some mechanical employments.

86. From the very large quantity of grain the distillers every day commit to their mash-vats, it is probable, that they would at all times occasion a rise in the price of provisions, were they allowed to distil solely from the grain of this country. Before 1798, it was impossible to give any tolerable estimate of the quantity of grain used in the licensed distilleries in Scotland : this was known only to a few concerned in these works ; and, from their impenetrable secrecy, one would imagine, that they had been sworn to silence on this head. But, lately, the revenue-officers were ordered, by act of Parliament, to take an exact account of the quantity of unmalted

malted grain used in the distilleries, perhaps with a view to subject it to the duty on malt. Besides the license-duty of a hundred and eight pounds per gallon, on the contents of the still, other duties were to be levied on this manufacture, which have varied, but were, in 1802, fixed at twopence halfpenny on the gallon of wash, and sixpence on the gallon of spirits. We cannot yet speak, from experience, on the effect of this act; but it appears probable, that in a few years we may be able to estimate, pretty nearly, the quantity of grain used by the distillers in Scotland. This fact may be ascertained, not only from the malt-duty, but the number of gallons of spirits distilled, though not with the accuracy which might be expected from even the most vigilant attention of the officers of the revenue, in the discharge of their duty; for some allowance must be made, for the art of deception by the distiller. At present, it is supposed, by a gross estimate, that two hundred and fifty thousand quarters of grain are annually consumed by the distillers in Scotland, and about the same quantity is thought to be used by those in England;

land ; but, that the distillers may not be accused of a greater waste than they really make of the grain of the country, it must be remarked, that much of the raw material consists of damaged grain, and grain imported.

87. The great addition to the public revenue, by the distillers, and the balance of trade in their favour, from the exportation of spirits, give them a specious appearance of being useful members to the State ; which, from a diffidence of my knowledge on this subject, I incline not to dispute. These advantages would appear still more evident, were they obliged to bring the whole of their raw materials from abroad. After all, I am afraid that these advantages are more than overbalanced, by the number of deaths among the labouring poor, when spirits are below six shillings per gallon ; who, at such times, die by thousands, from intemperance in the use of this deleterious commodity. This was also the case, before the passing of the Gin act ; after which, the numbers in the annual bills of mortality, for London, and other great cities and

towns, decreased considerably. These facts induce me to wish most ardently, that Parliament would, in its wisdom, form some plan, which might increase the sale of malt liquors, and lessen the consumption of malt spirits, with as little detriment to the public revenue as possible. What is here alleged, in favour of the sale of malt liquors, has of late been demonstratively proved; for, from the high license-duty paid by the distillers, and some restrictions on the use of grain in their manufacture, the price of spirits is raised so high, as to diminish considerably the purchase of them by the lower ranks. It is true, that the high price of provisions has had an effect in this way for some years past; but it is chiefly owing to the increased value of this baneful liquor, that the diseases and deaths among the labouring poor are considerably diminished.

SECTION VIII.

ON THE EXPEDIENCY OF A MODUS, OR COMPENSATION FOR THE TITHE.

88. NOTWITHSTANDING what I have said, in the preceding pages, on the division and improvement of the commons and waste lands of this country, certain difficulties, which obstruct the progress of this desirable end, still remain to be considered. Among these are the church tithe, and poors rates, in England; which, in many instances, affect the proprietors and farmers to such a degree, as to banish almost all inclination to considerable improvements, from a dislike to share their profits with those who bear no part of the expence. The tithe is frequently a very unequal tax upon the rent, and is always a great discouragement, both to improvements by the landlord, and cultivation by the farmer. It is a real land-tax, making part of the revenue of the clergy; is a heavy burthen

on the proprietors of land ; but is felt more severely by the tenants ; and is higher than even the land-tax formerly paid in to the treasury, for the exigencies of the State. The proprietor cannot venture to make the most important, which are commonly the most expensive improvements, nor the tenant to raise the most valuable, which are likewise, in general, the most expensive crops, when the Church, which lays out no part of the expence, is to share so largely in the produce.

89. So heavy a tax on the fruits of the earth, must necessarily have some effect in lessening their production, in heightening the price of provisions, and in restraining the population of the country, which will always correspond with the quantity of food produced. How to obviate these inconveniences, arising from so burthensome a tax on produce, and which operate, with so decisive an effect, in obstructing all expensive and important improvements of farms, is a question of most difficult solution. This difficulty arises, not so much from any impossibility

ity of forming a plan of accommodation between the proprietors of land, the clergy, and the lay impropiators *, by which the effects of the tithe, complained of, might be taken away, but in so adjusting the scheme to their several interests, as to give mutual satisfaction.

90. Where there is no modus established, it is an opposition of interest between the clergyman and the farmer, which occasions so many altercations, and sometimes lawfuits, on account of the tithe in kind, or its valuation in money. Were these persons intent on strict justice to each other, no dispute could take place ; but the clergyman, perhaps from misinformation of the value of the crop, may sometimes have the appearance of insisting for more than is right ; while the farmer, from a dislike to all kind of taxation, is tempted to withhold from the clergyman what is his due by law †. Such dissen-

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* The tithe of these last are supposed to extend to nearly a fourth part of the lands of England.

† Mr Arthur Young, who deserves well of the public, for his laborious and expensive tours through France and Italy, ,

sions are followed by the worst consequences to the farmer and his family ; for they cannot receive, with a just sense of their propriety, the principles of piety and morality, how forcibly soever they may be delivered, by a parson whom

Italy, for the improvement of agriculture, observes, ‘ That
 ‘ in regard to the oppressions of the clergy, as to tithes, I
 ‘ must do that body a justice, to which a claim cannot be
 ‘ laid in England. Though the ecclesiastical tenth was le-
 ‘ vied in France more severely than usual in Italy, yet it
 ‘ was never exacted with such horrid greediness, as is at
 ‘ present the disgrace of England. When taken in kind,
 ‘ no such thing was known in any part of France, where I
 ‘ made inquiries, as a tenth ; it was always a twelfth, or a
 ‘ thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce ; and in
 ‘ no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture pay
 ‘ any thing. Thus, turnips, cabbages, clover, chicorée,
 ‘ potatoës, &c. &c. paid nothing. Olives, in some places,
 ‘ paid ; in more, they did not. Cows, nothing. Lambs,
 ‘ from the 12th to the 21st. Wool, nothing. Such mild-
 ‘ ness, in the levy of this odious tax, is absolutely unknown
 ‘ in England.’ * This accurate observer, in another part of
 his tour, previous to the French Revolution, says, ‘ All I
 ‘ conversed with in Italy, on the subject of tithes, express-
 ‘ ed amazement at the tithe we are subject to, and scarcely
 ‘ believed that there was a people left in Europe, who paid
 ‘ so much ; observing, that nothing like it was to be found,
 ‘ even in Spain itself.’ †.

* Lond. 1792. Vol. I. p. 537. † Ib. Vol. II. p. 275.

whom they neither reverence nor esteem. This is an additional reason for a modus, of more importance to the happiness of the people, than even the farther improvements of our lands, so warmly recommended in almost every part of this treatise. What a happiness, therefore, would it be to the proprietors of land, to the farmers, and to the country in general, could some equitable, and less exceptionable method, than the present mode of levying the tithe, be adopted !

91. Such an alteration is no doubt hazardous ; it is like meddling with the church, which every wise man would avoid, lest the clergy and their dependants should cry out, ‘ Ring the bells backwards, for the church is in danger ; ’ which might occasion a greater evil than that we propose to remedy. But, from the love of peace, of good neighbourhood, of that harmony so prevalent among good men, and to get rid of that annual disagreeable transaction between the clergyman and the farmer, it is more than probable, that an adequate stipend, under the sanction of Parliament, out of the same

funds, but on a less vexatious plan, would give entire satisfaction to both parties. I pretend not, however, to those abilities, requisite to form an unexceptionable scheme of accommodation, on this arduous and intricate subject; I rather incline to leave it to the wisdom of Parliament, where it must ultimately terminate, after the necessary information has been laid before them. But, lest I should be accused of a chimerical, impracticable project, I shall venture to suggest some loose thoughts on this delicate business, which may serve as an outline to a practicable scheme, till some men, better informed, shall finish this affair, more to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, and the public.

92. The tithe, in this country, commenced about the middle of the ninth century, and has existed, ever since the reign of Ethelwolf, as a part of the revenue of the Church. At that period, the clergy, though extremely ignorant, even in regard to what is contained in the Scriptures, did, notwithstanding, find out, that the Jewish priests, by their law, were entitled to a
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tenth part of all the produce of the land. Forgetting what they themselves taught, that it was only the moral part of that law which was obligatory on christians, they universally insisted, with great vehemence, that this was, by divine ordinance, part of the patrimony of the church. When they had prevailed, they proceeded so far, as to include a tenth of the profits of all industry, merchandise, labourers wages, soldiers pay, and even of the money gained by the courtezans in their illegal amours *. But our reformed clergy, being better Christians, and better men, piously reject the wages of sin, restricting the tithe solely to the produce of the land ; which is, however, ten times more than it was in the days of Elthelwolf.

93. This receipt of the tithe, for upwards of nine hundred years, includes in it every right which can possibly be derived from possession ; but it precludes not the beneficiary from accepting

* Hume's History of England. Lond. 1786. 8vo. Vol. I, p. 72.

ing of an equivalent, less expensive in the collection, not so liable to fluctuation in its value, and payable on demand, when due, by the proprietor. As it is the tithe alone we mean to consider, we must suppose the temporalities, the dues from the performance of certain religious ceremonies, as that of marriage, baptism, the funeral service, and other parts of the revenue of the clergy, from the archbishop to the lowest curate, to remain the same as at present. Any farther interference with the revenue of the church, would be unconstitutional, and would carry too much the appearance of exercising despotism over a most valuable and useful body of men, to whom we are indebted for numerous illustrations of the facts on which our holy religion is founded, and for unfolding that complete system of morality contained in the Scriptures. It is therefore most ardently to be desired, that these good men would assist, in forming such a scheme of compensation for the tithe, as is most likely to afford general satisfaction. If such of the clergy, as are known to possess considerable abilities, and conciliating manners, had
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so much patriotism, as to induce them, for the good of the State, to yield in some trifling calculations, where their interests may be supposed to be concerned, it would increase the probability of success.

94. But, as no clergyman can, with propriety, petition the House of Commons, on a subject of general concern to the beneficiaries of the church, without the consent of the whole ; so, their plan of commutation for the tithe, ought to be given in pamphlets, for the information of the public in general. I am aware, that the warmth with which I am actuated, for the increase of our power, population, and wealth, by removing some obstructions to the improvement of our lands, has surpris'd me into a recommendation of means of information, that are as likely to have a bad, as a good effect. For, notwithstanding my partiality to the clerical character, we must consider the clergy as a society, and as men of the world, who, in temporal affairs, may be as tenacious of what they suppose to be their right, as any other society, or set of men. It is therefore

therefore to be apprehended, that, in their pamphlets, some of these reverend gentlemen may, with more ardour than judgment, and with greater abilities than patriotism, misrepresent the advantages that will probably accrue to themselves and the public, from commutation.

95. But the Chapters of Cathedrals, which include the dignified clergy, who all together share largely in the tithe, will no doubt consult with their bishops, the guardians of the Church, in the House of Peers ; and if these deliberations are conducted with temper and moderation, they cannot fail of having a good effect. In the midst, however, of my career, and in the moment of my exultation, in the hopes of additional riches and power to this country, from its internal resources, I am checked by fear, lest the Parliament should reject the scheme, from false representations of its impracticability. These misrepresentations alone, however, are not the source of my despondency ; because, when false, they will be easily detected : but, in all cases, they

they go a great way towards conviction, with those who have a reluctance to adopt the measure proposed.

96. In these days, when the multitude have become licentious from an excess of freedom, every material reform, even to the melioration of our constitution, may be attended with danger. We have always much to fear, in insurrections of the populace, from democrats or anarchists, consisting mostly of the lowest of the people, dupes to Republicans of all ranks ; with many other discontented men, of mean talents, but turbulent spirits ; always at enmity with Administration, and who mistake alteration for improvement. These men lye heavy on the wheels of Administration ; obstruct the regular operations of Government ; and prevent such reforms as would improve our Constitution ; ministers being unwilling to encounter those wild schemes and seditious clamours, they are so prompt to throw out on such occasions. These considerations induce me to hesitate as to the propriety

priety of the above measure being moved in Parliament before the tranquil days of a settled peace, when the ferment, raised in this country by the destructive revolutionary principles of France, is forgotten. Even then, I could wish to have the majority of the most discerning part of the clergy in favour of the motion; for, without this circumstance, as there are ten thousand parishes in England, so we should have as many trumpets sounding twice every Sunday, with a decisive effect against the measure.

97. The system of Illuminatism, spread over Europe by the French and Germans, in schools and reading societies, is now universally known. From this unhappy circumstance, it is a question with me, whether it may not be a safer plan for the clergy, to solicit an universal modus, rather than the tithe in kind, which is the source of so much animosity between them and the farmers. Those wicked men, who carried on the Revolution in France, with such atrocious cruelty and injustice, had an eye, from the commencement of their

their power, towards the large revenues of the church, and every religious institution. These were such a tempting prize to those plunderers of the state, as induced them to resolve on the abolition of not only all religious orders, but of religion itself, in which they have, most unhappily for mankind, in a great degree succeeded.

98. While religion, morality, and a due reverence for our Creator remain with us, it is to be hoped, that he will, in his mercy, avert such a calamity from ever falling on this country. But as we cannot be too much on our guard against the machinations of wicked men, let us obviate, as far as in our power, every cause of complaint. Though it is not probable, that such a revolution will ever take place in Britain, yet we cannot be over-watchful of those political changes in the minds of the people, which have so often taken place, and brought about unexpected alterations in the government. It was the want of attention, and a reasonable compliance with the general opinion of the public, that proved so baneful to several of our Kings, and

and particularly to the House of Stuart. If such a misery should ever befall us, I am much afraid, that the clergy will not be the last of the sufferers, when the tithes will be abolished for ever, as has lately been the case in France, Italy, and other countries, subjected at present to the dominion of the French Republic. The report of the Secret Committee, appointed by the Parliament of Ireland to examine the principal leaders of the rebellion in that country, shows clearly, what were their resolutions on this head. For it appears, that the Directory of Ireland was bound to that of France, to indemnify them for the expence of the war out of the church-lands, which were to be seized and sold, as well as the forfeited estates, in case the enterprize of conquering the island should succeed. They had, indeed, the example of Presbyterian countries, and particularly of the American states, where every species of Christian worship is tolerated and practised, and their clergy maintained with higher stipends from their congregations, than the medium income of the livings in England, without

without burdening the country with the tithe. * By a very exact account, it appears that, in 1755, the whole revenue of the clergy of the Church of Scotland, including their glebe or church-lands, and the rent of their manfes or dwelling-houses, estimated according to a reasonable valuation, amounted only to 68,514l. 1s. 5½d. This limited revenue afforded a moderate subsistence to nine hundred and forty-four ministers. † But it must now amount to a larger sum, from the late augmentation of stipends; and if we add the expence of a few additional clergymen, the building and repairing churches and manfes, the whole may amount to about ninety or ninety-five thousand pounds Sterling. This is not, however, in years of plenty, above a thirtieth of the revenue of the Church of England, the lay-tithe included. But, lest I should be suspected of preaching to men who are more capable of teaching me, I shall

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proceed

* *Vide* the Caledonian Mercury of September 1798, for the examination of Dr William J. McNiven, by the Secret Committee.

† Smith's Wealth of Nations. London, 1789. 8vo. Vol. III. p. 34—37.

proceed in the farther consideration of my subject.

99. That the proposed alteration, in collecting that part of the revenue of the Church, presently under consideration, may be as little liable to objection as possible, I wish it to approach as near to the present mode and practice as can be done. In several parts of England, an equivalent, in money, for the tithe, is settled between the clergyman of the parish and the proprietor, called a *modus*, which, for gardens, and other small possessions, is commonly presented as an Easter-offering. I wish an equitable estimation of the tithe of the produce of the land, over England and Wales, in its present state of agriculture, to be taken as the principal ground for the establishment of an equivalent. This I imagine might be easily done, by fixing the average amount of the tithe in money, for ten or twenty years past, to be paid by the proprietor to the beneficiary of the church, at one or two terms in the year, in lieu of the tithe in kind. To insure the punctual payment of this stipend, a compulsory

compulsatory clause, as in similar cases, should be enacted in favour of the clergy, with double the legal interest in case of non-payment, till the debt is discharged. On the other hand, the proprietor, or farmer, ought to be insured, that this compensation for the tithe should remain fixed and unalterably the same, unless when, by some encroachment of the sea, the bursting of a bog, the overflowing of a river, or other natural cause, part of the land is lost, or rendered useless, when a proportionable deduction of the stipend should be made.

100. Without the consent and approbation of the clergy, however, all application to Parliament would be in vain, or attended with danger; by giving rise to sedition, on the pretence of a more extensive reform. The only means I can suggest for removing this obstacle to a general modus, is to make this equivalent worthy the acceptance of the beneficiaries, by raising it to be at least equal in value to the present tithe, and confirming it to the clergy by the sanction of Parliament. Such an establishment would, I am
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persuaded, be productive of greater harmony between the Church and the tenantry, than exists at present; the landholders would improve their estates, and the tenants have an unlimited choice in their crops, to the great benefit of individuals and the nation.

101. What I have just said on the subject of a commutation, ought to be applied solely to cultivated lands and grass farms, and not to wastes and commons, unless the tithe of these last should be fixed, in all time coming, according to an actual valuation of them in their present uncultivated state. This has been uniformly the practice in Scotland for many years; and when the division of commons, or waste lands, is to take place, and the tithe, or teind, as it is there called, is to be ascertained, the method of proceeding is so clear and well defined, as to recommend it strongly to be adopted in similar cases. Commons are either divided by arbitration, or any one of the proprietors (by virtue of certain acts of Parliament, passed in the reigns of Charles the First and Second, for the improvement

ment of waste lands, building of stone-walls, called dikes, planting of hedges, straighting of marches, &c.) may raise an action of division of commonty before the Court of Session, where it is finally adjusted. In the course of this process, each proprietor is obliged to ascertain his right to a certain portion of the common, either by an express description of such part or parts of the common, in the deeds of conveyance, by which he holds his estate, or by an immemorial right, which he and his predecessors have exercised without challenge, of feeding a certain number of cattle on the common.

102. When the division has been finally adjusted, and a decret of the court obtained, the proprietors bring another process before their Lordships (who, every Wednesday, sit under a different capacity, as Commissioners for the plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds), for ascertaining the teind of the common in its uncultivated state. This is settled, either by a valuation of the rent, from the number of black cattle, horses, and sheep, to which it has hither af-

forded pasturage ; or on a valuation of the rent, by two or more sworn practical farmers on a nineteen years lease. The rent of the common being ascertained to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, the Court then proceeds to fix the teind at one fifth part of the rent ; and supposing the valuation to be at the rate of one shilling per acre, then the teind must be for ever fixed, in the proportion of four shillings for every twenty acres, whatever may be afterwards its state of improvement.

103. From this very short account of the law and practice of Scotland, relative to the division of commons and waste lands, previous to their improvement, and fixing the teind of them, it is easy to perceive that an act of Parliament might be so framed, as to answer every intent and purpose of the Scots acts, and practice of our courts, on these subjects. Such an act ought only to extend to England and Wales, Scotland being already possessed of power sufficient for these laudable purposes. It is to these advantages, which Scotland has almost exclusively enjoyed

joyed, that we must ascribe a proportionably greater division and improvement of commons and waste lands in that country, than has taken place in England. For the division of a common, in England, can rarely be settled but by an act of Parliament, in consequence of a joint petition from the several proprietors for that purpose, which can seldom be obtained. This shows the necessity of a general law, which may apply to all cases ; and, for the encouragement of agriculture, it should be ordained, that the tithe be no more than a fifth part of the valued rent of the land in its uncultivated state ; and this to continue for ever unalterably the same,

104. As the tithe is an unpopular tax in all countries, and perhaps more so in England than in most other nations, the introduction of such a law and practice, as is just mentioned, would not, it is to be hoped, be greatly counteracted by the clergy, the only quarter from which opposition may be supposed to arise. For their income would not thereby be lessened ; but might receive some increase, from a fixed valuation

tion of the tithe of such grounds as, from their present unproductive state, afford little or nothing to the Church. Besides, we have every reason to expect, that men, so strongly impressed with benevolence, true patriotism, and the duties of good citizens, as they appear to be in many of their excellent discourses on these subjects, will rather favour, than obstruct, the general adoption of the measure recommended.

105. There is another unexceptionable plan of accommodation reserved as an alternative, and which will probably meet with less obstruction from the parties concerned, than what has been already proposed. This is the sale of the tithe to the proprietors, which might be easily accomplished, to the entire satisfaction of both the landholders and beneficiaries of the church. In this event, the purchase money should be vested in the public funds, after which each clergyman and impropriator may receive at the Bank, by himself or his attorney, his dividend twice a year, exactly proportioned to his interest in the funds. As the payment of this perpetual annui-

ty might be depended on to a day, and, without expence, as easily transacted as a bill of exchange; so this scheme of accommodation, if ever it should take place, might even be preferable to that suggested in the former part of this section. But, that I may lay before the public every practicable scheme in my power, of a commutation for the tithe, I shall transcribe, from one of the best papers I have met with, what the modest anonymous author has said on this subject, in Number 13th of the Farmer's Magazine. * After this ingenious writer has reprobated the common modes proposed of a commutation for the tithe, he says, ' That no method can be devised for regulating tithes, sufficient to remove the evils attending the present system, and secure so effectually the interest of all parties, as a general law, fixing a payment in money according to the rentals of the land, from whence tithes are exigible. ' In this paper, the whole lands are divided into arable, pasture, and waste; and it is proposed, that the arable lands shall pay one sixth of their rental

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In lieu of tithe, in all time coming ; and that where fines or grassums are paid, the tithe holder should have a claim for the same proportion of all such fines or grassums levied by the proprietors. This share of rental to increase or diminish, as rents increased or diminished ; which obviates every objection, hitherto offered against a commutation in money. Secondly, he proposes that pastures, convertible into arable land, should, in like manner, in lieu of tithe, pay one tenth of real rent ; and for wastes, that one fifteenth of the present rent be sustained as a sufficient compensation for the tithe in all time coming.

106. These are mere outlines of a commutation for the tithe ; to proceed farther, would discover a presumption inconsistent with the sense I have of my inability to present a correct and unexceptionable scheme on this head. For if this shall ever come before the House of Commons, it will there meet with a discussion greatly beyond what my slender abilities could possibly suggest. But as this subject is of the greatest importance

importance to the proprietors of land, to the farmers, the people in general, and the clergy themselves, so it is to be hoped, that its great advantages will be perceived by the Legislature, which must give it success. What ought to inflame the clergy, and all good men, with a strong desire for such an accommodation is, that, as often as a common or quantity of waste land is, by the art of the farmer, brought to bear a rotation of tolerable crops, they must be considered as new acquisitions of territory to our island ; and, of course, an additional source of population and power. But the great advantages that must arise from the proposed improvements are so obvious, as to render any farther illustration of them unnecessary. I shall, therefore, proceed briefly to consider the poor's rates, which although they do not materially obstruct the improvement of our lands, yet, in some counties, are known to oppress the subject, and, of course, to procrastinate the expensive melioration of certain farms.

SECTION IX.

ON A PROVISION FOR THE POOR.

107. As I mean to confine my observations, on the liberality of the public to the poor, to a few pages, I must endeavour to lose sight of the too numerous remarks of those ingenious authors who have written on this subject. Some of them are too diffuse and minute, to impress us with that simplicity of plan, which ought to be adopted, for assisting or maintaining the poor; while others are too fond of speculation, to keep free from error, or to induce us to hope for success in the practice they recommend. There have been, from the commencement of time, orphans, infirm old men and women, and diseased persons of all ages, which, from the nature of man, must be the case, to the end of the world; and when persons of this description are helpless and indigent, they are proper objects of our charity. Unfortunate persons, who have been reduced to poverty by fire, misfortunes in trade,

trade, or other accidents, are certainly also entitled to our benevolence ; which ought to bear some proportion to the height, from whence, without any fault of their own, they have fallen. The rest of the poor may be comprehended under infirm, common beggars, and strong or sturdy beggars. These last, a burden on the industrious, and the bane of society, deserve not our compassion, but ought to be sent to their respective parishes ; and if found incorrigible, confined in a bridewell, till they give symptoms of reformation. The common beggars, often affecting to be diseased, or infirm, are of a more doubtful character ; for, though some of them are objects, the majority are impostors ; who, from a slothful, indolent disposition, dislike labour ; which is confirmed, by a habit of strolling and loitering about the streets, in their trade of begging and pilfering, by which they gain, especially in great towns, a tolerable livelihood.

108. Some incidental causes of poverty, of a temporary nature, excepted, these are, to the best of my recollection and observation, all the
various

various classes of the necessitous poor, with which the public may be said to be concerned. Their numbers, in every State, will ever correspond with the degree of piety, morality, and industry, in which the lower classes of the people have been educated, in their infancy and childhood. From this fact, it may be, with great certainty, inferred, that if the instructions given in the preceding treatise, on the formation of the minds of children to virtue, were universally observed and practised, they would go a great way towards lessening the burthen of the public, in maintaining the poor, by diminishing their number. It is habits of morality and industry, acquired in childhood and youth, therein recommended, that form the mind of the future man to virtue, and make him detest the mean and base mind of every beggar, who is capable of work.

109. The effects of education and habit in the Dutch, are remarkable. From their childhood, they are trained up in the practice of industry, sobriety, and frugality, which enables them to support themselves, in almost any situation.

tion. They are remarked for this, in every corner of the world. A Dutch family will earn a subsistence, where another would starve. There are, of course, few beggars in the Dutch provinces; and there, a greater degree of disgrace and ignominy attends the base trade of a beggar, than in most other countries. The reverse of this, is the despicable begging race in Spain, who are encouraged, and their numbers increased, by the daily alms distributed at the palaces of the dignified clergy, monasteries, and alms-houses, and from industry not being, in that country, properly encouraged. This excess of charity, so hurtful to every species of industry, and to society in general, is not peculiar to Spain; it is greater in Roman Catholic, than in Protestant countries; but exists, more or less, in every Christian State.

110. There are two causes, which operate powerfully on the mind, in producing an excess of charity: The first is, that benevolent instinct, that social sympathy, implanted in us by nature, for the wisest ends, which agitates us with the
sensations

sensations and passions of others, making their pains and sorrows our own. If we examine, attentively, the manner in which scenes of distress affect our mind, we shall find, that we are by nature formed to feel for the afflicted ; that we are under a powerful impulse to the exertion, as well as to the approbation, of sympathy and benevolence. This affection of the mind being so inherent in our nature, so universal and unextinguishable, shews its divine origin. In proof of this, we need only appeal to that consciousness of something within, that pleads for the unhappy, and bids us stretch out our hand to their relief. It is always with some violence to ourselves, that we harden our heart, or turn away our attention from the tears of the unfortunate, and stand self-reproached, when we withhold our assistance. On the other hand, we feel an internal complacency, a self-gratulating satisfaction, rise in our mind, when we have taken advantage, on any occasion that offered, to impart consolation to the afflicted.

111. The merciful man is thus kind to himself,

self, as well as to the object of his compassion; for he receives an equivalent, in moral enjoyment, for the comfort he bestows. This amiable quality exists, with various degrees of power, in different persons. In some, it is excited, on the view or relation of the smallest distress, even in the brute creation; whilst, in others, it is so feeble, as to be little exerted at the sight of the greatest misery. Habits of cruelty may go far in gradually changing our nature, and rendering the heart callous and unfeeling; yet I do not believe it possible for this divine principle to be entirely suppressed or extinguished; or that the most cruel could oppress the miserable, and increase the affliction of the unhappy, without secretly doing great violence to himself.

112. The other cause, co-operating with the former, derived from nature, is our education in the Christian religion, in which charity and mercy are justly held superior in rank to every other virtue. If a summary of what is said on this subject, in the Old and New Testament, particularly in the latter, were shown us,

we should see in it, all that reason can suggest on the subject of morality*. For the word charity, which occurs so frequently in the Scriptures, is used in a sense so extensive, as not only to comprehend liberality to our fellow-creatures, but benevolence, candour, forbearance, compassion, brotherly love, every social virtue, and all the good affections which we ought to bear to one another ; but it is more commonly applied to the giving of alms to the indigent. In this restricted sense, the word charity seems to confer a sacred character on the poor, even on the beggar, who demands of us the discharge of the first of Christian duties, of which he is the object. It is therefore no wonder, if, in the state of mind to which we are brought, by the sight of affected distress, we are deceived, and err, in the application of our charity. In this way, we may account for that excess of charity to the vagrant poor, by the humane in great towns, where it is difficult to ascertain the circumstances and characters of the indigent.

* See Peter, chap. iv. 8.; Tim. chap. i. 5.; Mat. chap. xxvi. 40, chap. v. 7.; 1 John, chap. iv. 20.; and numberless other places in both Testaments.

113. These observations lead us to the consideration of some circumstances, to which we ought carefully to attend, in every scheme of providing for the poor ; whether in work-houses or in their own apartments, when they are capable of working a little, but not sufficiently, for their maintenance ; by small pensions from the poor's fund, or by private donations from the humane. We are here to distinguish, as well as we can, from observation and information, between real and affected objects of charity ; if their poverty has been occasioned by indolence, profligacy, or unavoidable misfortunes ; which knowledge ought to lead us to a difference of treatment. This difference cannot so properly be made in work-houses, as with private pensioners ; but, in all cases, sickness and bodily distress excepted, the allowance for the maintenance of the poor, ought always, for the encouragement of industry, to be somewhat less than the meanest workman can earn for his sustenance.

114. From such a circumspect conduct, it

is highly probable, that the number of poor would decrease, the charge of their maintenance lessen, and the excess of charity, which suppresses effectually every inclination to industry, would diminish. But the requisite information for these ends cannot be obtained, with any degree of certainty, without the appointment of inspectors of the poor, with small salaries. These men should visit the habitations of the out-pensioners, as well as those who petition to be admitted into the work-house ; that the number in each family, their characters, degree of indigence, and other circumstances, may be given in a report, to the managers of the poor's fund. To get rid entirely of the vagrant poor in great towns, is scarcely practicable ; but a good police, well executed, and a bridewell in every county, for the reception of sturdy beggars, pilferers, and others, who disturb the peace of society by their profligacy, would diminish considerably their number.

115. Authors have differed, in regard to the manner in which the poor ought to be lodged,
ed,

ed, clothed, and subsisted ; some alleging, that work-houses are the only proper retreat for the indigent, where their diet, clothing, work, and morals, may be particularly attended to, by persons to whom the superintendence of these several charges is committed. But experience has shown, that the labour of the poor, in work-houses, amounts not, one with another, to more than a penny a day, and of course goes but a very little way towards the expence of management and maintenance. Those who plead for weekly pensions to the poor, in their dwellings, shew, that a greater number of indigent persons may, in this way, be supported, at a smaller expence than in work-houses. It is taken for granted, that they are capable of some industry, by the profit of which, with their small pension, they live more agreeably than in confinement, and cheaper ; as what is left at one meal is saved for another ; which cannot be done, where great numbers sit at one table, and eat at the expence of the public. There are some objections, however, to the plan of out-pensions, not only from the too numerous solicitations which such a prac-

tice might encourage, but from worthless persons being inadvertently put on the poor's roll, which can only be detected and remedied, by the diligence and attention of the inspectors above recommended.

116. The truth is, that neither plan can be universally adopted: for, in the country, in small towns and villages, where the character and condition of every pauper is well known, work-houses are unnecessary, and would be expensive. But, in populous cities and towns, both a bridewell and work-house are indispensable appendages to a strict observance of the police, and accommodation of the poor of a certain description. As the value of the industry carried on in work-houses, bears little or no proportion to the expence of maintenance, none perhaps should be admitted to the benefit of such an asylum, who are capable of earning three-pence or fourpence a day; for the putting such on the roll of pensioners, would be a saving to the poor's fund. A dislike to labour, often the original cause of their poverty, frequently adheres

heres to the poor in work-houses, and continues to increase, from an indulgence in their slothful disposition ; which renders industry, or even cleanliness, with most of them, almost impracticable. It is on this account we should confine, perhaps, the inhabitants of a poor's house to orphans, old men and women incapable of labour, and infirm, indigent persons, of all ages.

117. What is here recommended, for the management and maintenance of the poor, has, in its most essential circumstances, been, time immemorial, the practice of Scotland, where the support of the indigent is little felt by the inhabitants. In that country are no work-houses, unless in cities and towns of some magnitude, where there are also bridewells, or what are called houses of correction, for the confinement of incorrigible profligates. Where there are work-houses, there are likewise some out-pensioners ; and the whole expence is chiefly defrayed from the collections at the churches, on Sundays, and other days of public worship ; to which must be added, occasional liberal donations of opu-

lent individuals, corporations, and other societies. These last benefactions are commonly solicited, by the managers of the work-houses, when the collections at the churches fall short of the necessary sums for their support ; from which deficiency, large debts are sometimes contracted. This is more particularly the case in Edinburgh, where, from the greater populousness of the place, a larger proportion of poor are to be found, than in any other city or town in Scotland.

118. The maintenance of the poor, in the small towns, villages, and country parishes, throughout Scotland, arises from similar funds, given in weekly pensions, from sixpence to eighteenpence, according to the necessity of each individual or his family. This charity is usually under the direction of the clergyman, and elders of the parish ; the latter serve as inspectors of the poor, from whose report, at the meeting of what is called the kirk-session, the pensions are settled. As, however, in many parishes, the collections at the churches are found insufficient

cient for these laudable purposes, begging is permitted one day a week; but on this, in some cases, unavoidable trespass, they forfeit their pensions. There has long subsisted in Scotland, a most excellent and praiseworthy practice among mechanics and labourers of every sort, of forming themselves into societies, agreeing to subscribe from one penny to threepence per week, by which a fund is raised for their support, when rendered incapable of work by sickness. The money thus raised, is lodged in the hands of a box-master or treasurer; and the distress or sickness of a member being ascertained, at one of their meetings, the treasurer is ordered to pay him from two to five shillings per week, in proportion to the subscription of the society, and state of its funds. The same is practised, I understand, in some of the manufacturing towns in England, and ought to be every where encouraged, not only as an excellent institution for the diseased among poor workmen and labourers, but as a saving of the parochial fund for the poor. The justest idea that can be given of the great utility of such societies, of the decorum observed

observed at their meetings, and of the good sense and judgment of the members in the management of their funds, will best appear, from the perusal of a printed copy of the rules and regulations of one of them, for their government, which I shall give in the Appendix *.

119. The poor's rates in England, from the end of the sixteenth century, have been gradually increasing with the wealth and population of that country, till they have become at last,

* *Vide* Appendix, No. III.

These laudable societies must be distinguished from other associations of mechanics, of a most pernicious tendency, whose sole view is to raise the price of labour, beyond what can be safely allowed by the manufacturer or their employers. At stated times, they pay in to a treasurer their subscriptions, out of which fund those refractory spirits are maintained, who refuse to work till their wages are raised to an unreasonable height. These unlawful combinations are disseminated throughout the Three United Kingdoms, correspond with one another, and receive, with hospitality, any vagrant workman that can produce a certificate of his belonging to a similar society, and that he has regularly paid in the usual subscription. But it is to be hoped that the Legislature will put a stop to those dangerous fraternities, so detrimental to trade, and oppressive of the industrious manufacturer.

last, in many parishes, a heavy burthen on the industrious ; of which they loudly and justly complain. By the 39th and 43d of Elizabeth (the basis of many succeeding acts, relative to a provision for the poor), the churchwardens of each parish, with the concurrence of a Justice of Peace, acquired a discretionary power of imposing and levying a tax on the inhabitants, according to the number and indigence of their poor. At the time when these acts passed, the discretionary power mentioned was probably necessary ; and, according to the law, as it now exists, and the present plan of levying the poor's rates, it is perhaps still unavoidable. But it seems to me unreasonable, even dangerous to the community, that a tax should be laid on, at the arbitrary will of any two or three churchwardens, or overseers. The assessment ought, by act of Parliament, to be limited to a moderate rate in the pound, whatever may be the necessities of the poor. And when this shall be found insufficient, the deficiency ought to be made up by a voluntary contribution from the opulent inhabitants. It is by a plan of this kind alone, that

that the most industrious part of the community can be relieved from the present oppressive burthen of the poor's rate ; and I am confident, from the instinctive desire in man to relieve the distressed, it will fully answer every purpose intended. This will obviate, in a great degree, that excess of charity, so hurtful to society, and even so baneful to the indolent and slothful, among the lower ranks, who so often throw themselves unnecessarily, from a dislike to labour, on the charity of the public. For it is well known, that the poor's rates of many parishes in England have gradually augmented to double of what they were forty years ago ; * and from this too great liberality, the number of poor has proportionably increased ; of which it is unnecessary to cite particular instances.

120.

* In Bristol, the parish poor, forty years ago, did not exceed four thousand ; at present they amount to more than ten thousand. † Mr Wenderdon, in his view of England, observes that, in 1680, the poor's rates produced no more than 665,390*l.* ; in the 1764, they stood at 1,200,000*l.* ; and in 1773, they were estimated at 3,000,000*l.* *Vide* the Encyclopædia, under the article Poor's Rates.

† Sketches by Lord Kaimes, vol. III. p. 79. Edin. 1788.

120. It has been often remarked, that many of the mechanics, porters, and other hard-working men in England, who have worn themselves out by labour and intemperance, pay no regard to futurity, and neglect their offspring, because of the comfortable retreat on which they can rely, when they shall come to throw themselves and their children on the charity of the parish. It is the too liberal provision made for the poor in England, the facility with which it is obtained, and the arbitrary manner in which the subject is taxed for their maintenance, that are the chief causes of the exorbitancy of the poor's rates, and the increasing number of beggars. If the dissipated journeymen of manufacturers, and other men of labour in great towns, who are accustomed to receive large wages, but spend them, to the last shilling, in waste, are in the smallest degree disabled, or even weary of work, they affect inability for labour, and are put on the poor's roll. This I understand they accomplish, by an application to a Justice of Peace, from whom they procure an order on the churchwardens, in consequence of which they receive nearly as comfortable

comfortable a provision in a work-house, or by a weekly pension, as men in the country of Scotland can earn by hard labour. To supply the indigent with food and raiment, provided you thereby do not offer a premium to indolence, prodigality, and vice, is salutary. To correct the lazy and the spendthrift, to shut them up in houses of confinement, till they have acquired habits of industry, is just and prudent; but in such establishments, to feed, to clothe, and to lodge them better than the sober and diligent are clothed, fed, and lodged, is not agreeable to any principle of equity, and is inconsistent with sound policy. On account, therefore, of the bad effects to the public, of an excess of benevolence, it ought to be a general rule, as formerly suggested, that every out-pension to a pauper, or his maintenance in a work-house, ought to be something below what the meanest workman can earn by his labour.

121. The principle of charity is established by Providence in the heart of man, for the relief of those who are disabled from work; it is a
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pleasant gratification to the mind, when voluntary, and is enforced by pity and compassion. The great comfort of society, is assistance in time of need ; and its firmest cement, is the bestowing and receiving kindly offices, especially in distress : but benevolence and charity, like other affections of the mind, are invigorated by exercise, and no less enfeebled by disuse. It is on this last account that I have approved of moderate voluntary contributions, occasionally, but not too frequently repeated, to supply any deficiency in the legal establishment for the poor. Such gentle demands on us, in behalf of the innocent poor, must have an evident tendency to keep alive that benevolent disposition we so much admire, and which is so useful in all the affairs of men.

122. I am even such a sceptic, as to disapprove the suppressing altogether common begging, so strongly recommended by some men of considerable credit with the public ; not only on account of the impossibility of preventing it, but from a view of lessening the number of beggars,
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when restricted under certain regulations. In certain parishes, a few beggars may be licensed, after their life and conversation have undergone a scrutiny, by a committee of the managers for the poor, in which ought to be the minister, and one or two elders of the church. If, after this examination, it shall be found, that the pauper has not been guilty of any gross immorality, a badge, with his name, that of the parish, and number in which he stands in the roll, engraved on it, should be given him, to be worn on some conspicuous part of his dress, to entitle him to the alms of the parish. No such licensed beggar, however, should be allowed to ply for alms out of his parish ; and, perhaps, the times of begging ought to be restricted to two days in the week ; but if found guilty of theft, drunkenness, rioting, or other glaring immoralities, he should be sent to bridewell, and his badge taken from him. *

123.

* The practice here recommended appears to have been established by law, nearly four centuries ago, by James I. of Scotland, in his first Parliament, when it was enacted, ' That if any person, above the age of fourteen, and under
' seventy,

123. A certain fraternity of mendicants, called Beadmen, from a rosary they wore at their belt, when the Roman Catholic was the established religion of this country, still subsists in Scotland, and is not altogether dissimilar from what is here proposed; the licensing of beggars. This Royal society of mendicants, commonly called Bluegowns, from a cloak of that colour they are obliged to wear, with a badge on the right side of the cloak before, with the King's name, the name of the pauper, and number in which he stands on the roll, engraved on it, was instituted, if I mistake not, in the reign of James

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‘ seventy, presumed to beg in boroughs, without badges
 ‘ from the Magistrates, or in the county, without badges
 ‘ from the Sheriff, they shall be seized, and compelled to
 ‘ labour, under the penalty of being burnt on the cheek,
 ‘ and banished the country :’ Black Acts, act 27. The
 same spirit appears to have prevailed in the reigns of James
 V. and VI., when severe laws were enacted against for-
 ners, and masterful beggars, as they were then called. A
 very wise regulation was made, at the same time, for supply-
 ing the wants of those who were really poor and unfit for
 labour, by ordaining every parish to support its own poor,
 who were to wear badges, to be given them by the head-
 men of the parish. *

* Henry's History of Britain, vol. XII. p. 175.

the Fifth, * to say a certain number of ave-maries daily for the King's safety. This is a whimsical enough institution of mendicants, consisting of an equal number with the years of the King's age ; and their small pension, or annual alms, likewise made up of a number of pence, corresponding to the years of the King, given them by his almoner, on his Majesty's birth-day. At this time is also delivered to each a new cloak, and a slight refreshment of bread and ale ; after which, a sermon, suitable to their condition, is preached to them in the church of the Canon-gate.

124. From some legacies, left by the members of the different incorporated trades of Edinburgh, and particularly of Saint Magdalene's Chapel, to the beadmen of their respective corporations, it seems probable, that this fraternity of Bluegowns consisted originally of indigent mechanics. However this may be, they are at present composed chiefly of common labourers, who,

* For the origin of this begging fraternity, *vide* the Appendix, No. IV.

who, on account of their age or infirmities, are unable to work for their sustenance. These paupers are not restricted to any particular parish, but are licensed to beg through the several counties of Scotland; the gown and badge are testimonials of their poverty and innocence; and they being thus warranted to the public as proper objects of charity, few persons refuse them alms. I have here briefly run over an imperfect history of our beadmen, to show, that if a few of the innocent poor, unable to work, were, after a strict examination into their character, licensed to beg, there could be no hazard of their starving. Such a plan, I am persuaded, would lessen considerably the number of beggars; for those who were licensed would be obliged to keep within their parish; and if any one attempted to beg without a badge, they would not certainly meet with the same sympathy from the public.

125. By the long and sad experience of many of the parishes in England, it has been proven, that if a poor's-rate is increased, proportionally

to the number who will apply for relief from that fund, it must come, at last, to be an intolerable burthen on the industrious ; for in no case is a premium so successful, as when it is given to promote idleness. The principle of charity is in every one weakened, and in some seems to be almost entirely annihilated, by such a grievous tax, reluctantly paid ; for, what a person is compelled to give, cannot be called charity. But these bad effects of too liberal a provision for the poor, will, it is to be hoped, gradually disappear, after the subject of the poor's rates shall be brought before the Legislature, for a more equal and moderate assessment, and to rectify such abuses in the application of these funds, as subsist in many parishes in the kingdom.

126. The practice of Scotland has been already explained ; it suits us, and no one complains : It might even be improved, as has been suggested above ; but I doubt much if the same plan would answer in England, from the poor in that country having been too long and too much

much accustomed to the ‘ flesh-pots of Egypt.’ It is otherwise in Scotland, where the poor, in general, live, either in part, or wholly, by out-pensions from collections at the churches on Sunday; and are sometimes assisted by their more opulent neighbours, who are acquainted with their innocence and poverty. It is only in great towns that there are work-houses and bridewells, supported by a moderate assessment of the inhabitants: The expence of the paupers in these houses, exceeds not (the charge of management included) seven pounds for each person *per annum*, when grain is sold at a medium price. The work-house in the West-Church parish of Edinburgh, with the out-pensioners, are supported, in the manner mentioned, from the collections at the church on Sundays, and other days of worship; and, as a country parish, from a small voluntary tax, with which the heritors and tenants assessed themselves; which seldom amounted to more than fivepence, and never exceeded sixpence, till the year 1802, when this voluntary assessment arose to

tenpence, in the pound Sterling of annual-rent. *

127. Though the practice in Scotland has hitherto been found adequate, for all the pressing necessities of the poor, yet the dearth, which has of late years prevailed, has obliged corporate bodies, societies, and opulent individuals, to subscribe liberally towards their support. The amount of each subscription oftener corresponds with the benevolence, than with the wealth of the subscriber; for from certain persons, with a genteel annual income, little or nothing was obtained. This made the managers of this fund, particularly those of the metropolis, complain of the inequality with which individuals were burthened, and to call out for a more equal assessment, which could be adjusted only by an act of Parliament. This was obtained, for the city and suburbs of Edinburgh, by an act, which continued in force for one year only, from January 1801, to 1. January 1802; but the

* *Vide* Encyclopædia Britannica, *art.* Poor's-Rates.

the inhabitants not being accustomed to so heavy an assessment, and it, being too much on the plan of the Income-tax, was considered as a most grievous imposition; and compulsory measures were found necessary, in many instances, in levying this tax. It is probable, that a temporary assessment, to be laid on the subject in proportion to the price of grain, from sixpence to tenpence, but never to exceed one shilling in the pound, might answer all the good purposes of a poor's-rate. This act to be in force no longer than while grain shall be above a certain price, to be fixed by commissioners appointed for that purpose; and which, I am persuaded, will be found sufficient, under proper management, to alleviate the distresses of the poor. When the above tax, in times of dearth or famine, shall be found inadequate for the design, then voluntary contributions ought to commence in aid of the assessment. But when grain shall be sold below the price at which the first tax, of sixpence in the pound, is to be levied, the assessment should cease, and the in-

habitants be left to their usual mode of providing for the poor, before the passing of the act.

SECTION X.

ON FOUNDLING HOSPITALS.

128. It is much to be regretted, that foundling hospitals, which reflect so much honour on their patrons and benefactors, should not have answered the beneficent expectations of their founders. Experience has taught us, that this mode of providing for orphans is fraught with such bad consequences, as manifestly to frustrate the original design of the institution. If the tender infants are given out to mercenary nurses in the country, their chance of living is somewhat greater than if brought up by hand in the foul air of an hospital; but not so good as when under the care of a mother, though in poverty. The experience of Mr Hanway, in the fatal consequences that so frequently attended attempts to bring up children in alms-houses, led him, probably, to exaggerate a little,

able, and but a little, in saying, ' To attempt to
 nourish an infant in a work-house, where a
 number of nurses are congregated into one
 room, and consequently the air becomes pu-
 trid, I will pronounce, from intimate know-
 ledge of the subject, to be but a small remove
 from slaughter; for the child must die.' It
 is certain, that out of the great number of in-
 fants sent to alms-houses, the few who have sur-
 vived the foul air, and the foul every thing of
 their apartments, look more like children brought
 up in a dungeon, than in houses above ground.
 Lord Kaimes says, ' It is computed, that of the
 children in the London Foundling-Hospital,
 the half do not live a year. It appears, by
 an account given in to Parliament, that the
 money bestowed on that hospital, from its
 commencement till December 1757, amount-
 ed to 166,000*l.*; and yet, during that period,
 105 persons only were put out to do for them-
 selves.' *

129. The princely endowments of some of
 these

* Sketches of the History of Man. Edinburgh 1788,
 8vo, Vol. III. p. 91.

these hospitals, in different countries of Europe, naturally create in us an idea of their being the most laudable and humane means of preserving, at least, if not increasing the population of the country, and of rearing and educating a number of useful individuals, who, without such a provision, would, for the most part, be lost to the State. But the melancholy facts in the preceding paragraph, and others of a similar nature, hereafter to be adduced, directly contradict these flattering expectations. They even exhibit to us a plan of depopulation, from the greater number of deaths in the hospitals, than certainly would have taken place had the children been left to their indigent parents. For it is known, that the greater the difficulties with which parents are obliged to struggle, to provide food for their infants, the warmer becomes their parental affection. The indisposition, and bodily distress, with which children are often afflicted, has the same effect on parents ; for affection, especially in the mother, appears to rise in proportion to the pains and attention she is obliged to bestow, for the accommodation and preservation

preservation of her child. This strong instinctive propensity in parents, to nurture and cherish their helpless offspring, is a wise provision in nature, without which the human race would soon be at an end. Every circumstance, therefore, which tends to loosen this natural connexion between parent and child, ought to be reprobated, as fraught with the worst of evils ; to society, to the population, and to the power of the state.

130. Nothing operates more powerfully in this way, than holding out an asylum for the indiscriminate reception of all children who may be presented to the hospital. Were none to be received, but really destitute orphans, and the children of such poor parents as are incapable of earning for them a sufficient sustenance, then the design of the institution would be fully answered ; and the numbers, in certain hospitals, be reduced, I am persuaded, to one twentieth part of what they are at present. By such a resolution in the managers, that excess of charity, which I have mentioned above, would be restrained, and

a greater degree of industry would be kept up among the common people. The infants in these institutions at present, chiefly are, First, natural children, whose parents are sufficiently able to pay for their maintenance, but who choose to put out of sight and remembrance the proof of their illegal amours: Secondly, the children of many mechanics and labourers, who spend, in intemperance and idleness, those means, that would be sufficient for the maintenance of their offspring. In proof of these assertions, I need only remark, that St Vincent de Paul opened, at Paris, an hospital for exposed infants, in the year 1670. The number of foundlings that year was only 312; ten years after, it was 890. In 1700, the number was 1738; in 1740, it was 3130; and, in 1776, it rose to 6419. This was more than a third part of all the children born in Paris that year, which were 18,919.*

131. These are the strongest proofs of the grossest impositions, by the most worthless of the

* *Vide* the Paris almanacks for the above years.

the lower ranks, on the public ; and though it may be impossible to remedy altogether this iniquitous abuse, yet it may certainly, in some degree, be corrected. Perhaps no child should be received into the hospital, till the person who presents it, produces a certificate, signed by the clergyman of the parish, or a justice of peace and two church-wardens, setting forth, that the child is an orphan, or belongs to parents so indigent, as to be incapable of sustaining it. Even in such cases, I should, for the reasons already given, suppose it more adviseable to give the mother, or some relation of the child, a small pension for nursing it, than to commit it to the care of a stranger. But, if the mother, or other relation, is unwilling to take charge of the infant, or are judged by the matron, and some other assistant in the hospital, unfit for the discharge of their duty, then let the choice fall on some nurse in the country. This person ought to be taken from a list, kept in the hospital, of women, recommended to the managers by people of character, for sobriety and industry, leaving it to the physician and matron to judge of her qualifications

qualifications in other respects. The child, if possible, should remain with the same woman, till between three and four years of age, when it should be received into the house, and a small premium given to the nurse, for her success.

132. What is said in the Treatise on the Formation of the Minds of Children, &c. is plain, simple, and easily understood; intended chiefly for the lower ranks, and of consequence well calculated for the management and preservation of destitute foundlings, whether in or out of an hospital. The formation of the tender minds of children to virtue, is unquestionably the most essential part of every plan of education; and if time and attention are bestowed, there is the highest probability of success, from the plan there laid down. But, it is greatly to be lamented, that, in this important point, so little dependence can be had on the nurses employed in rearing these orphans. For, from the immoral, mercenary women, who compose nine tenths of those entrusted with the charge of the helpless orphans, who ought to be nurtured with
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the most tender care and attention, little else is to be expected, than a report of their death, in the course of a few months. But, how great soever may be their attention in the discharge of their duty, the mortality in the hospitals must always exceed that among infants of the same age, in private families, on account of the numbers who, with their nurses, are cooped up in the same apartment. A lamentable instance of the great waste of the public money, in such institutions, with the direful effects of depopulation by death, is given in the Appendix *. It is an extract from the journal of the House of Commons of Ireland, 14th April 1797, being a representation of the melancholy condition of the foundling hospital in Dublin, by Sir John Blaquiere.

133. Every view that can be taken of these destructive institutions, equally dangerous with pest-houses, to the poor infants who are admitted, must shock the feelings of every person of humanity. I know of no remedy for this evil,

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* *Vide* Appendix, No. V.

so effectual, as the entire abolition of every large institution of this kind. But the situation of helpless orphans, excites our sympathy in the most forcible manner; and to refrain from offering some more effectual means for their preservation than they have hitherto met with, is next to impossible. As it is the health, and consequent diminution of the number of deaths, among these infants, we must chiefly and constantly have in view, such regulations ought to be observed, as are usually practised among the better sort of the lower ranks of the people. The houses for their reception ought not to exceed in size those of an ordinary dwelling-house, with five or six large bed-rooms, kitchen, laundry, store-house, and such other conveniences, as are necessary for the accommodation of a large family. A number of houses of this kind might be built, or fitted up, corresponding to the funds of the hospital. On this plan, the expence of maintenance and management will no doubt be greater than at present, as the number of nurses and servants must be proportionably increased; but
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the mortality amongst the children will certainly diminish, which is our principal aim.

134. These houses ought to be single, with opposite windows, for the sake of ventilation, and should not consist of more than an under and upper story ; beds made to fold up through the day, will give an opportunity of sweeping and dusting the apartments every morning. Children below three years of age, require a little rest in bed, once or twice a day, when the beds may be easily let down. But, as cleanliness and fresh air, next to a wholesome diet, contribute more to the health of children, than any other circumstance ; the windows should be left open, as often as the children are carried abroad. For the same reason, the beds should be often aired out of doors, for a few hours, in good weather. The impropriety, as well as inconveniency, of admitting a number of wet nurses into one house, is so obvious, that it must always be understood, children are not to be received till some time after they are weaned, or till they can walk about. As to the diet, cloth-

ing, bathing, and other particulars relative to the health and management of children, I must refer to Section second, in my Treatise on the Formation of the Minds of Children, &c. where I hope these subjects are sufficiently discussed.

135. The degree of success in rearing and educating the orphans and children of the necessitous poor, will always correspond with the selection of the plan, and of the servants who are to put it in execution. This must be left to those who have the direction of public charities, and to the managers for the poor, in the several parishes throughout the kingdom, who ought to be deeply impressed with this incontrovertible fact, that to them is entrusted a considerable source of national wealth and power. It is from an ardent desire of being useful, that I, with the most anxious sollicitude, recommend to these gentlemen the preservation of those destitute children to the public, and the formation of their minds to virtue and industry. For it grieves me to observe, that so little care, in these respects, is in general taken by the parish officers, who

who certainly overlook the importance of their charge. They seem not to advert to the great advantage that would accrue to the public from such a plan of education as has been proposed, if it shall ever be adopted by the lower ranks of the people. We may reasonably expect, that the public will then clearly perceive its true interest, and the sum of happiness be augmented, beyond what has been known in any former period, in the history of mankind.

SECTION XI.

CONJECTURES ON THE POPULATION OF BRITAIN,
AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, FROM THE FIRST IN-
VASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR, TO THE PRESENT
TIME.

136. To compensate, in some degree, for perhaps the too brief manner in which I have treated the subjects of the preceding Sections, I shall attempt, in this, to illustrate, to the best of my abilities, the doctrine which I have endea-

voured therein to establish. I have attempted chiefly to point out, not only those causes that have an evident tendency to advance the power and prosperity of a country, but also such others, as have, with equal certainty, contrary effects. From the strictest examination, however, I have been able to make, in the perusal of the histories of different nations, I have invariably found, that the population of every country has always corresponded with the degree of opulence or poverty therein existing. Indeed, this correspondence has constantly been found so exactly to tally, that when the population of any particular time is known, it can be ascertained, with no small degree of certainty, what had been the prosperity of the nation at that period, and *vice versa*. If, therefore, we should be able to trace this mutual connexion, in many instances, from the earliest periods to the present time, by such documents as history affords, it must go a great way towards proving the identity of the causes which promote or depress the prosperity, and, of consequence, the population of a country.

137. For, whoever peruses with attention the history of Britain, from the time of the Druids, will perceive, that the population of this country has at different times fluctuated considerably ; but these fluctuations have always corresponded with the quantity of labour performed by the inhabitants, and the improvement of their lands. Pasturage and hunting seem to have been the chief occupations of the ancient Britons ; the principal sources of their subsistence, and of their wealth. Agriculture was not altogether unknown in Britain, before the invasion of the Romans, under Julius Cæsar ; though it is difficult to discover when it was introduced, and how far it had then advanced. At that time, it was chiefly confined to the southern parts of this island, opposite to Gaul, from whence it appears to have been first introduced, by migrations of the Celts, in whose country agriculture had been long practised. This seems to have been the opinion of Cæsar* ; and in later times, Musgrave supposes, that agriculture was perhaps little known in this island, till about 150

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years

* De Bel. Gal. lib. V. c. 12.

years before the beginning of the Christian æra. At that period, great multitudes of Celtic Gauls, being expelled their native seats, between the Rhine and the Seine, by the Belgæ from Germany, took shelter in the south of Britain, where they met with a favourable reception, and formed several small states. These states received reinforcements from time to time, from the same coasts, whose inhabitants were then called Belgæ, and practised husbandry. *

138. As commerce and agriculture in Britain, at the first invasion of the Romans, were not only in their infancy, but extremely limited ; and as extensive tracts of this island, were then covered with woods, lakes, and marshes, which have since disappeared, the country must, no doubt, have been at that time but thinly inhabited. Were it not for the testimony of the Roman authors, the extent of these forests, lakes, and marshes, would be at this day almost incredible : from the dreary and dismal aspect of this Island, compared with the cultivated lands of Italy, it was
said

* Mufgrave, *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 94.

laid to have been HORRIDA SYLVIS. Even the towns of the ancient Britons, and their places of worship, were among forests, with which the country every where abounded; and with these dark abodes, the people appear to have been much delighted. The famous forest of Anderida, was no less than one hundred and twenty miles in length, and thirty in breadth; and the Salus Caledonius, was probably still more extensive. One of the chief difficulties the Romans met with, in pushing their conquest in this island, was that of making their way through these woods, and guarding against the sallies of the Britons from their forests. This obliged them to make cuts through the woods, as they advanced, so broad, as to prevent the danger of a surprise; and they afterwards cleared away much greater quantities of them for the sake of agriculture. The Emperor Severus, in his famous expedition into Caledonia, met with little opposition from the enemy, but with almost insurmountable obstacles from the woods and fens, with which the country abounded. Severus entered Caledonia, where he had endless fa-

tigues to sustain, forests to cut down, morasses to drain, and bridges to build. His soldiers were so long and so grievously incommoded by the waters, that some of them being unable to continue their march and toils, begged of their companions to kill them, that they might not fall alive into the hands of their enemies. The result of this laborious march was, that Severus lost no fewer than 50,000 men, though he fought no battle, nor saw any enemy in a body. *

139. All I mean to infer, from this brief account of the general aspect of our country, is, that it must have been at that time thinly peopled. For it is impossible, in our days, to say, with any degree of precision, what were the number of inhabitants in Great Britain, at the first invasion of the Romans; but they certainly were more numerous than has been supposed by some authors, of reputation, who do not allow the population of England to have been quite
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* Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.; and Henry's History, Vol. II. p. 284—286.

four hundred thousand souls. * This calculation appears to be too low, when we recollect what is said by Cæsar of the populousness of Britain, and by Tacitus and Dio of the numerous armies of the ancient British states. The remarks of these ancient authors are confirmed, by the great number of Britons that appeared in arms, many of whom were slain, fighting in defence of their liberty against the Romans, commanded by Aulus Plautius, Vespasian, Ostorius and other Roman generals, previous to the revolt of the Iceni, and other British tribes, under the conduct of Boadicea, in the year of our Lord 61. This unfortunate insurrection of the Britons, brought the cruel Suetonius from the isle of Anglesey, where, it is said, he had almost exterminated the inhabitants, with the whole of the Druids, to meet the army of Boadicea, consisting of 230,000 men, of whom 80,000 are reported to have been put to the sword, in the battle and pursuit. These numbers are exclusive of those Britons who adhered to the Romans

* *Vide* Introduction to Anderson's History of Commerce, p. 44. London 1787.

mans, and fell in the great massacre of the legionary troops, by that heroic Queen, chiefly at London and Verulamium, previous to that decisive battle by Suetonius; supposed to consist of no less than 70,000 souls. *

140. From these premises, I am even of opinion, that the estimate of the population of Britain, at the first invasion of the Romans, by the accurate Doctor Henry, is below what was their real number. Britain being at that time, divided into thirty-eight principalities, or petty kingdoms, the Doctor proceeds on a supposition, that each of these states might, one with another, contain about 20,000 persons of all ages; and would, of course, bring the population to 760,000 souls. † This, I imagine, must be considered as too small a number for the whole extent of Britain, notwithstanding the uncultivated state of its lands; and that the inhabitants lived mostly on the flesh and milk of their domesticated animals, and what they could procure

* Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

† History of Britain, by the Reverend Dr Henry. London 1788. Vol. I. 8vo. p. 290.

cure by the chase. Had the learned Doctor raised his estimate to 25,000 for each tribe or nation, which would only have made 850,000, it is highly probable, that he still would have kept his calculation within the real number of people then in Britain; but not considerably. It is true, that in the imperfect account I have endeavoured to give of the population of Britain, circumstances are mentioned which did not take place till after the second invasion by Claudius, when the southern districts of Britain may be supposed to have been better peopled than in the time of Julius Cæsar.

141. From the time of the first invasion by this great man, fifty-five years before the birth of Christ, to the second invasion under Claudius, A. D. 43, was nearly a hundred years. During this period, or rather from the reign of Augustus, an intimate correspondence, with a mutual communication of favours, subsisted between the British princes, their subjects, and the Romans, without any hostile attack on either side. This arose from the policy of Augustus,

gustus, who, instead of the tribute imposed by Cæsar, not always exacted, and seldom paid, prevailed on the British princes to allow an impost on imports and exports, on every species of merchandize, sent to, or received from, the continent; which, as conjectured by some, amounted to about 500,000*l.* Sterling. * This is, no doubt, a mere conjecture, which scarcely deserves credit; otherwise the trade of Britain must have been then much more extensive than we can have any conception of at present. Let us rather say, that the trade between Britain and the continent was considerable for those times; which is sufficient to show, that the daily intercourse between the Romans and the people of the southern parts of this island, was free, and without restraint, which would encourage trade, and increase their population.

142. This could not take place, for any considerable time, without a superior civilization, and some improvements in several articles of traffic, being introduced into this country
by

* Henry's History, vol. II. p. 234.

by the Romans ; and particularly in agriculture, in the knowledge of which they were so intelligent. In fact, we find, that by the second invasion of the Romans, agriculture had extended along the coasts and the neighbourhood, from the Lands-end to Dover, though not practised with the same skill as in Italy, yet sufficiently to increase the produce of the land, and population of those parts of the island. To the northward of these districts, agriculture was little practised, the inhabitants depending chiefly on their flocks and herds for subsistence ; but these ancient British shepherds seem to have been ignorant of some of the most useful parts of their art, till they were instructed in them by the Romans. They appear d to have been ignorant of the practice of castrating animals, with a view to meliorate their flesh ; and it is known, that many of them knew not the art of making cheese. One of our most learned and reputable antiquaries thinks it probable, that Scribonius, physician to the Emperor Claudius, was the first who instructed the Britons in these useful arts.*

* Musgrave, *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 47. 48.

143. But as soon as the Romans had obtained a firm establishment in Britain, agriculture began to be very much improved and extended. The Romans, by their policy and example, so effectually reconciled the Britons to the cultivation of their lands, that in a little time this island became one of the most plentiful provinces of the empire, which not only produced a sufficient quantity of corn for the support of its own inhabitants, and the Roman troops, but afforded every year a very great surplus for exportation. During the residence of the Romans in this island, they practised themselves, and instructed their British subjects, in all the branches of agriculture, gardening, and in every art which was then known, for making the earth yield her most precious gifts in the greatest abundance, for the support and comfort of human life.

144. From the time of Agricola, about the year 80, to the middle of the fourth century, architecture, and all the arts immediately connected with it, greatly flourished in this island; and the same taste for erecting solid, convenient,

convenient, and beautiful buildings, which had long prevailed in Italy, was introduced into Britain. Every Roman colony and free city, of which there were a great number in this country, was a little Rome, encompassed with strong walls, adorned with temples, palaces, courts, halls, basilisks, baths, markets, aqueducts, and many other elegant buildings, both for use and ornament. * From these unequivocal signs of wealth, order, and power, and the great number of well-built villages in every district, we may safely conclude, that provincial Britain was better cultivated, more populous, and in all respects a more plentiful and pleasant country, under the dominion of the Romans, than it was at any time for more than a thousand years after their departure. This will not appear an extravagant supposition, when we recollect, that for one article, as much corn was exported from this island in one year (359) as loaded 800 large ships. The imports and exports of Britain, for some years prior to this period, were so considerable that the duties of about one fortieth

* Henry's History. Vol. II. p. 120.

fortieth of their value, collected by the Romans, did not, according to the opinion of the late Reverend Doctor Henry, amount to less than two millions Sterling. *

145. But the flourishing state of the Roman provinces in Britain, began gradually to decline after the middle of the fourth century. It was the practice of these warfaring people to disarm their conquered provinces, but to enrol, for military service, all the youth capable of bearing arms, and to employ them in distant provinces. The result of this policy was a security against the natives rising for the recovery of their freedom; and this, of course, rendered them incapable of making any powerful resistance, of themselves, against an enemy. This was the situation of Britain, when the Romans left it, before the middle of the fifth century, after they had almost exhausted this country, of the youth capable of bearing arms, who were incorporated in the legions of Gaul, Italy, and other

* Henry's History of Britain. Vol. I. p. 359.; and Vol. II. p. 234.

other provinces of the Empire. In consequence of this, the Caledonians and Picts soon took possession of Valenciac, between the Pretentures; and being well informed of the defenceless state, and dastardly spirit of the provincial Britons, beyond the wall of Severus, they made frequent inroads into the heart of their country. In these incursions, meeting with little or no opposition, from a feeble people unaccustomed to arms, they burnt their cities, towns, and villages, and spread that sort of devastation over their country, with which the love of revenge and of booty inspires savage nations. The usual consequences of such destructive inroads, were, famine and pestilence, which carried off far greater numbers than the sword of the enemy. *

146. The ruin of the Britons was completed by their calling in to their assistance the Saxons, in 449, who, in process of time, took possession of their country. But before this was accomplished, the cruel wars that were carried on

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* Henry's History of Britain, vol. I. p. 127.—Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. XIV. p. 795.

between the Saxons and Britons, annihilated almost every remains of that flourishing state which the country enjoyed under the Romans. From the arts, manufactures, trade, commerce, and the extensive agriculture, which were carried on in England when a Roman province, it is highly probable, that the population of that country was then higher, than at any subsequent period, till after the reign of Henry the Seventh.

147. As we have no *data* from ancient authors, sufficient to enable us to ascertain, with precision, the population of the Roman provinces in Britain, we must remain in great uncertainty as to this point. But from the above circumstances, which tend to increase the population of every country, it is not improbable, that, about the middle of the fourth century, it contained nearly three millions of inhabitants. The state of agriculture in Britain, after the departure of the Romans in 446, for upwards of eleven centuries, was so imperfect as to subject the country to frequent dearths, and sometimes famines.

famines. At such times, the lower ranks of the people being forced to live on a low and unwholesome diet, and they being uncleanly in their apparel and houses, pestilential diseases, which swept off great numbers of the inhabitants, were much more frequent than in modern times. Manufactures and commerce, which have a natural tendency to increase the population of every country, were, in those times, scarcely sufficient to make up for the losses by famine and pestilence. From this miserable state of what had been the Roman provinces in Britain, after the Saxons got possession of them, and which was kept up by the destructive wars which subsisted for some centuries, the reduction of the number of the inhabitants was very remarkable. In the time of Alfred, their number is supposed to have been less than two millions; and Lord-Chief Justice Hales, and Mr Gregory King, were both of opinion, that the population of England, at the Conquest, did not greatly exceed 2,000,000; which is corroborated by the inspection of Doomesday-book.

148. The low state of agriculture in Britain, from the fifth to the sixteenth century, must be ascribed to several causes, which existed, in a greater or less degree, during the whole of that period. The Saxons, unaccustomed, in these ancient times, to the practice of agriculture, showed no great genius for that art, after their arrival in Britain ; and a propensity for pasturage, for the most part, prevailed among them. The frequent wars with foreign and domestic enemies, during the heptarchy, gave very short intervals of peace, which obstructed the advancement of every species of improvement, and, of course, the prosperity of the country. The same causes continuing to operate with greater or less force, during the reigns of our Saxon monarchs, and from the Norman conquest to the time of Henry VII., had considerable effects in keeping down the population of England. Neither were the Scots, from the turbulence of their nobles, family feuds, civil wars, and sometimes foreign invasions, in a much better situation during the whole of this long period.

149. It may appear extraordinary, that notwithstanding the disproportionate number and extension of grass farms in Britain, from the first settlement of the Saxons, till after the reign of Henry VII, there should be a sufficiency of grain, not only for home consumption, but, in plentiful years, for exportation. It must, however, be remarked, that from the extensive pasturage, the number of men slain in battle, and manufactures being in their infancy, this country could not be very populous; and the demand on the farmer for home consumption, of course, would be moderate. In turbulent times, which so frequently occur in the history of England, it became obvious to the proprietors of land, who were often embroiled in feuds and civil wars, that flocks and herds were better adapted to such troublesome periods than the produce of agriculture. Grain is a bulky, cumbersome article, which could not easily be carried off on the approach of an enemy; but flocks and herds might be readily removed to a distance, or sold privately, if the proprietor

should be involved in the misfortunes of his party.

150. Though manufactures, which were of slow growth in Britain, began to increase, and, of consequence, larger demands were made on the farmer ; yet such was the power of prejudice, and inveterate habit, that agriculture continued to give way to the improvement of grass farms. Agriculture was carried on, and wheat raised in considerable quantities, all along the coasts, in certain fertile districts in the south, and particularly in the neighbourhood of mercantile cities and sea-ports ; but, in the more inland and northern parts, it was but a scanty quantity of barley, oats, rye, and pulse, that was cultivated. In proof of this, and of the little communication of one place with another, by inland commerce, several examples might be given, as late as the 13th, and even in the 15th century. But a single instance, in each of these periods may be sufficient. We are informed by a contemporary author, that, A. D. 1258, a quarter of wheat cost 20s. at North-

Northampton, when it was sold for eight shillings and sixpence at Dunstaple. * Eneas Silvius, afterwards Pope Pius II, assures us, that none of the inhabitants of a populous village in Northumberland, in which he lodged in 1437, had ever seen either wine or wheat bread; and they expressed great surprise when they saw them on his table. † But neither of these circumstances could possibly have happened, if intelligence had been regular, and commercial intercourse safe and easy.

151. A great obstruction to the extension of agriculture, for many centuries, was the high price given on the Continent for English wool, and particularly in the Netherlands, where the woollen manufactures were carried on with more skill, and to a greater extent, than in any other part of Europe. From the few hands employed in pasturage, especially in enclosed grounds, the proprietors of land probably found, that the profits arising from the sale of their wool, sheep,

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and

* Annals, Dunstaple.

† Henry's History of Britain, vol. X. p. 314.

and black cattle, were equal, if not superior, to what would have arisen from the same lands in tillage, the returns of which are likewise more precarious. But as the population, and consequent demand on the farmer, must always keep pace with the quantity of useful labour performed in the country ; so it was not till manufactures and commerce had increased, that the want of a sufficiency of grain, for home consumption, was sensibly felt by the inhabitants. This advancement, however, in several of our articles of commerce, and particularly of the woollen manufactures, did not take place, till after the accession of Henry the Seventh ; from that time at least, our improvements, though slow, were more regular and progressive, than in any former period. This must be wholly ascribed to a more settled, though tyrannical government, with a rigid execution of the laws, under the family of Tudor ; which was continued, with still greater effect, in respect to trade, under a milder administration, through the peaceful reign of James, and his son Charles, till about the year 1640.

152. It has been demonstrated, in Section VI. that nothing can contribute more to promote agriculture, and the prosperity of the country, than a free and unlimited exportation and importation of grain. Hence, there is every reason to believe, that the laws enacted to regulate the corn-trade, in these early times, defeated the intention of the Legislature, and were detrimental to the country. The same bad effects must have been the result of a free exportation of wool, which, by encouraging pasturage, would decrease agriculture, and diminish population. This last circumstance must have been effected two different ways: First, by banishing, or reducing to beggary, the hands formerly employed in tillage; and, secondly, by throwing a number of men, women, and children, into an idle state of starving, who might have been usefully engaged in working up the surplus quantity of wool into various fabrics for exportation.

153. In 1337, the exportation of wool was first prohibited by act of Parliament; and in the same act it was ordained, that no one should
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wear any but English cloth ; that no clothes made beyond seas should be imported ; that foreign cloth-workers might come into the king's dominions, and should have such franchises as might suffice them *. Though this may be considered as the first act of the Legislature which ought to have promoted considerably our manufactures and commerce in woollen goods ; yet it was not till the beginning of the 16th century, that it had, in this way, any great effect. It prevented not the exportation of wool to France and Holland, which was smuggled at that time in large quantities ; but this illicit trade has gradually lessened with the extension of our woollen manufactures. The severity, however, of the penalties, against every trespass of this kind, probably gave the first check to the extension of grass farms, so much complained of by our ancestors, on account of the devastations of villages, hamlets, and farm-houses, and consequent depopulation it everywhere occasioned.

* Anderson's History of Commerce.

154. If, to this discouragement of agriculture, we add the scourge of war, and the low state of manufactures, we cannot be surprised at the small number of the inhabitants of England, till our approach to the 17th century. This is proved, from a poll-tax that was granted, of fourpence on each person above the years of fourteen, in 1377, the last year of Edward the Third ; and from an authentic roll of the numbers assessed, lately discovered in the Paper office, and other documents, the number of people in England, at that period, were computed to be only about 2,353,203. From a similar calculation on the above subsidy-roll, by adding nearly one third to the number of persons assessed, known to be the proportion which both sexes below fourteen years of age bear to those above it, the population of each town was ascertained. London, at that time, was calculated to contain no more than 35,000 persons, of all ages ; York, next in population, 10,000 ; and so on of the rest, nearly in the same proportion they at present bear to the inhabitants of the capital. A
more

more particular account of the result of this poll-tax is given in the Appendix. *

155. From the great expence of men, in the hostile expeditions and operations against France, in the reigns of Henry V. and VI., and the subsequent destructive civil wars, till after the battle of Bosworth, the number of the inhabitants of England were considerably diminished, and did not probably then exceed two millions. † This great scarcity of hands, hurt the

* *Vide* the Appendix, No. VI.

† In the twenty-fifth year of the war with France, the Cardinal of Winchester, and other plenipotentiaries, were appointed to negotiate a peace; and in their instructions, it was strongly recommended, to represent to the plenipotentiaries of France, 'That there haan been moo
' men slayne in these wars, for the title and claime of the
' croune of France, of oon naeion and other, than ben at
' this daye in both landys, and so much Christiene blode
' shede, that it is to grete a sorow and an orroure to think
' or here it *.' But the depopulation of England increased still farther, during the subsequent civil wars. In the battle of Towton, on the 29th of March 1461, between the Yorkists and Lancastrians, one of the most bloody engagements ever

* Rym. Fœd. Tom. X. p. 724.

the agriculture of the country exceedingly, and rendered it almost impossible to carry on any considerable manufacture for exportation. But after 1485, if we except some few civil commotions, in the reign of Henry VII, and his successor, which were soon suppressed, the foreign wars, in which the English were engaged, occasioned not any considerable

ever fought in Britain, there fell, by the testimony of a contemporary author, who took his information from those who were employed to number and bury the dead, 38,000 men *. This was the fourth pitched battle, fought in less than three months, in England, in which above 60,000 of her bravest sons perished, among whom were several princes of the blood, and many of the prime nobility. In fact, so many of the nobility had fallen in battle, died on the scaffold, or been driven into exile, that in the Parliament which met on the 4th of November 1461, there remained only one Duke, four Earls, one Viscount, and twenty-nine barons †. After the battle of Tewksbury, the twelfth that had been fought, in the fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster, it appeared, that in these engagements, and on the scaffold, above sixty princes of the Royal family, a majority of the nobles and principal gentlemen, and above 100,000 of the common people of England had lost their lives. ‡

* Continuat. Hist. Croyland, p. 533.

† Henry's History of Britain, Vol. IX. p. 178—180.

‡ Ibid. p. 223.

considerable loss of men for upwards of a hundred and fifty years. During this long period, manufactures of different kinds were from time to time introduced, and, with an increasing population, gradually extended; till several articles, formerly imported from the Continent, became not only sufficient for home consumption, but there was a surplus for exportation. It was not, however, for some years after the accession of Henry VII, that a feeble commencement of manufactures and commerce began to take place. This could not be sensibly felt by the nation, till after the beginning of the 16th century, by which time many parts of America had been explored; a way to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, discovered; and a general spirit for commercial enterprise had arisen, throughout the southern nations of Europe. The nature and advantages of commerce, at the accession of Henry VII, were so little understood in England, that by an act of Parliament, in 1488, the taking of interest for the use of money was prohibited under severe penalties;

nalties ; * and, by another law, the profit arising from dealing in bills of exchange, was likewise condemned, as favouring of usury. † But these, and all such restrictions, so destructive to manufactures and commerce, to which our present unexampled prosperity and power must be solely ascribed, have been long since totally abolished.

156. The staple commodity, in those days, was wool and woollen manufactures, which last still continues to be the most considerable article of our commerce. But if we are not at present capable of converting the whole of our wool into different sorts of fabrics (for some of it is still smuggled to the Continent), what must have been the disproportion, two hundred and fifty years ago, between the small quantity of cloth and other woollen goods manufactured, and the large quantity of the raw material sent to France, Flanders, and Holland? From a refinement, however, in dress, which became fashionable throughout Europe, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, commissions from the Continent,

* 3. Henry VII. cap. 5.

† Ib. cap. 6.

ment, for our cloth and other woollen goods, gradually increased. But our exports of these articles were inferior in quantity, and perhaps in quality, to those sent throughout Europe, by the manufacturers in the Netherlands; till the cruel wars of Charles V, and his son Philip, on pretence of religion, obliged many of these artists to seek for an asylum in Britain. The banishment of the Hugonots from France had nearly the same good effects, by helping us not only to a number of weavers, but to other artists, in a variety of useful manufactures. The Legislature, during the reigns of the family of Tudor, was not unmindful of the enormous extension of grass farms, so baneful to the country, which it endeavoured to restrain by several statutes, but with little effect. It was not till our manufactures became more numerous, till our exports were considerably increased, and a stricter watch was exerted against the smuggling of wool to the Continent, that a just proportion between the arable and pasture lands came gradually to be adjusted.

157. During this flow, but progressive improvement in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, the population of Britain increased with an equal pace, and the demands on the farmer were proportionably augmented. The Reverend Dr Henry, in his excellent history of Britain, alleges, that about the end of the fifteenth century, after the long and bloody contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster, there were not in Britain, three millions of inhabitants, probably not above two millions and a half.* The number of souls in England alone, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, has been usually estimated by authors at five millions. It is however probable, there did not exist at that time, in England and Wales, much above four millions and a half, and in Scotland scarcely one million; for the patriotic spirit of men is apt, in such calculations, to make them exaggerate the power of the state, by increasing the numbers. But, during the currency of the seventeenth century, the number of inhabitants

* Henry's History of Britain, vol. X, p. 280.

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England must have increased considerably; for, by the bishops' survey in 1676, the population of England was reckoned nearly six millions.*

158. From the more extensive commerce, and flourishing state of our manufactures, which has ever since been gradually increasing with our improvements in the practice and extension of agriculture, the population of England and Wales is now known to be considerably increased. For, from the authentic return by act of Parliament to the Legislature, of the population of Great Britain, printed in two volumes, 9th June 1802, the amount for England amounts to be nine millions, four hundred and ty-three thousand, five hundred and eight; and if to this we add the estimate for Scotland, of one million, six hundred and thousand, seven hundred and sixty, the total for Britain will be eleven million three thousand, three hundred and ty.

* Introd. to Anderson's Hist. of Commerce

I know not if any accurate list has been lately made of the population of Ireland; but it is now supposed to contain above four millions of souls,* which should make the whole population of the British empire amount to more than fifteen millions. The population of most of the principal towns in England makes part of the report given in to the House of Commons, and which I shall add, in the Appendix, to a similar estimation on the demise of Edward III. From these *data*, it is probable, that the present inhabitants in Britain exceed twelve times the number of those that were in our island in the time of the Druids, or at the first invasion of Julius Cæsar. They appear to be nearly four times the number which they probably were in the most flourishing state of the Roman provinces in Britain; and there is

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reason

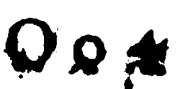
* The compilers of the two volumes, from which the above abstracts, and those in the Appendix, have been taken, in their observations at the beginning of volume 2d, say, that 'the number of houses in Ireland has been nearly ascertained by the collection of a hearth-money tax; and therefrom it has been computed, that the population of that part of the United Kingdom somewhat exceeds four millions of souls.'

reason to believe, that the population of England has been more than quadrupled since the accession of Henry VII. For, from the reasons already given, we cannot suppose the number of inhabitants in Britain, immediately after the battle of Bosworth, in 1485, to have exceeded much the population, at the conquest, in the year 1066. I should subject myself to just and severe criticism, were I to pretend to great accuracy in the several calculations I have made of the population of this country, from the first invasion of Julius Cæsar to this time. Though the *data*, however, are but few, on which we can proceed with certainty in estimates of this kind, yet, from the pains I have taken, in searching records and historians, it is probable, that there cannot be in these calculations any considerable error. I shall therefore venture to set down, in round numbers what I apprehend to have been the population of the several periods mentioned in this dissertation. At the first invasion of Julius Cæsar, A. C. 55, there were probably in this island, of all

all ages, about eight hundred and fifty thousand persons; in the year of our Lord 350, when the Roman provinces in Britain were in their most flourishing state, nearly three millions. But, from the gradual decline of the Roman power, and prosperity in Britain, from the above period, to their final departure in 446, having carried with them most of the British youth capable of bearing arms, the number of inhabitants decreased considerably. This depopulation was so rapidly carried on, by the invasion of the Scots and Picts, succeeded by famine and pestilence, and afterwards by the Saxons, in their commotions and wars with the Danes, through the whole of the Heptarchy, to the time of Alfred, that their number, at the death of this great man in 900, did not perhaps amount quite to two millions. From this period to the Conquest, population increased so slowly, that, from Doomsday-book, and other documents, it is not thought, that in England it was much above two millions. From the poll-tax, granted in 1377, and consequent subsidy-roll (paragraph 154.), the population of England was estimated

at two millions, three hundred and fifty-three thousand, two hundred and three. But, from the vast number of men carried off by the destructive wars with France in the beginning of the fifteenth century, both countries were so depopulated, and their finances so exhausted, that neither kingdom could sometimes bring into the field above ten or twelve thousand men. This depopulation was so kept up, or rather increased, by the bloody contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster, that it is by historians imagined, that, at the accession of Henry VII, the number of people in England did not greatly exceed that at the Conquest. I omit here, to state the population of England at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and likewise that of the time of Charles II, as they are already mentioned in paragraph 156: from this last period, however, the number of inhabitants in Britain gradually increased; but did not, probably, till after the year 1740, greatly exceed seven millions. The progressive rise of the population of this country, from the beginning of the sixteenth

teenth

teenth-century to the present time, with the extension of our manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and these keeping a constant and regular pace with one another, demonstratively prove the causes of the increase of numbers in any country; and that depopulation will ever attend the reverse of these prosperous circumstances. But the present number of inhabitants in Britain, now ascertained to be above eleven millions, is still capable of being considerably increased, by an augmentation of the product of the earth, in the improvement and cultivation of the commons and waste lands, as proposed in Section Third. This improvement of our lands ought to keep pace with the increasing state of our manufactures; for the population of every country depends principally on these two circumstances. Mr Anderson, in his history of commerce, mentions a report, that the Duke of Portland is in possession of a calculation, which makes the number of manufacturers in Britain amount to five millions, two hundred and fifty thousand souls: the annual value of the several articles,  in

in which they are employed, when completed, he estimates at 51,310,000l. * If we could depend on these calculations in 1783, they are the strongest proof that can be given, of the wonderful effect that manufactures have, in increasing, not only the population, but the wealth and power of every state.

* Vol. IV. p. 522.

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APPEN-

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A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

As I could not easily obtain a complete abstract of the Imports and Exports of Grain, with the consequent Bounties of Britain, I have subjoined, for the satisfaction of my reader, the following correct Tables, on this subject, for Scotland alone, which may give a tolerable idea of the whole, as it may be estimated at a sixth of the Imports and Exports of England.

ACCOUNT

To face

[587

to 1801.

	Indian Meal.		Rye Flour.		Rye Meal.		Buck Wheat & Flour.		Barley Meal.		Total.	
	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1750 inclu	.	.	.	.	.	.	2444	.	.	.	72,625	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1760	.	.	.	.	.	.	2652	3	2	.	279,069	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1770	.	.	.	.	.	.	3406 $\frac{1}{2}$	.	.	.	476,255	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1780	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,008,096	6
1790	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,491,824	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
the year 1800	890	.	.	.	106	.	.	.	.	.	211,118	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
1801	510	3	1906	2	1486	5	703	.	.	.	182,158	4
1 Imported	400	3	1906	2	1592	5	9207 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	2	.	3,721,148	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

1801, with the BOUNTY paid thereon.

Rye.		Bear.		Barley Meal.		Groats.		Biscuit.		Total.		Amount of Bounty Paid,				
L.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	L.	s.	d.	
	394	4	40	746	4	144	7				169	355	2	22,074	5	1
	1087		71	955	6	504	4				211	426	1	23,162	6	6
			13	733	5	169	7				14	235	5	10,692	13	
	874	1	34	384	2	488		12	1	4749	1	280,909	1	34,400	6	9
1	5		12	115	3			128	2	5205	6	86,023	4	8487	13	1
								3		68	2	1308	6	372	4	4
								34		347	6	2439				
2	2360	5	181	935	3	1307	2	147	3	10,270	7	865,697	3	101,169	8	19

No. II.

COPY OF THE RECORD OF LICENCES, FOR THE VENDING
OF BRITISH SPIRITS FOR THE CITY AND SHIRE OF
EDINBURGH, FROM 1765 TO 1796 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	City.	County.	Year.	City.	County.	Year.	City.	County.
1765	275	291	1776	819	710	1786	703	645
1766	232	151	1777	812	799	1787	939	909
1767	270	252	1778	848	806	1788	957	983
1768	399	304	1779	899	823	1789	901	897
1769	445	432	1780	867	799	1790	888	961
1770	499	528	1781	859	809	1791	781	1033
1771	500	532	1782	900	750	1792	780	974
1772	577	685	1783	880	751	1793	675	928
1773	651	737	1784	749	778	1794	603	880
1774	671	735	1785	788	756	1795	600	666
1775	747	683				1796	630	659
	—	—		—	—		—	—
	5266	5330		8341	7781		8457	9535
	—	—		—	—		—	—
Average for one Year	} 526 ⁶ / ₁₀ 533		Average for one Year	} 834 ¹ / ₁₀ 778 ¹ / ₁₀		Average for one Year	} 768 ⁹ / ₁₁ 866 ⁹ / ₁₁	

N. B. 274 Foreign Spirit Licences in City.
1234 Do. — — — in County.

1508

No

No. III.

**ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, BY THE CALEDONIAN SOCIETY,
IN EDINBURGH, OCTOBER 12. 1782.**

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS the dictates of nature, as well as the law of God, require love or charity to the afflicted, We have, after mature deliberation, agreed to constitute, and hereby do constitute ourselves into a Society, binding and obliging us, respectively, to collect and employ a portion of our means and incomes, towards raising a fund for our support; and to prevent any of us being a burthen on the public, do agree to the following.

ARTICLES.

I. That any Member not having the English tongue properly, on asking, shall be permitted to address the Chair in the Gaelic or Highland tongue.

II. When any address the Chair in Gaelic, if any wants the same explained, the Preses shall satisfy him; in the mean time all must hear, as he is not obliged to give a sketch of the same subject a second time.

III. That as this Society are determined to maintain all proper decency and decorum in all their meetings and proceedings, therefore none are to appear drunk, or give insulting language to either Preses or Members. If any curse, swear, or take God's name in vain, or such like oaths, in either languages, he shall be fined threepence for every such offence, to be paid immediately. None shall interrupt his brother, when speaking, otherwise he shall be fined one penny, if persisting, doubled.

IV.

IV. That each entrant, after the date hereof, shall pay the sum of together with clerk and officer's fees.

V. That any entrant has no benefit from the Society, till he is twelve months a Member; but, in case of death, he or his wife is to be buried, at the rate of thirty shillings out of the Members' pockets.

VI. It is agreed, that none be admitted a Member, above the age of thirty-six years; a minute being made on each man's entry, that he is not above the said age; which, if afterwards is proved to be false, he shall be excluded the Society.

VII. That each entrant must be of a sound constitution, free from maim or bruise, or any bodily disease, fit to provide for themselves, by whatever labour they profess; must be of the Protestant religion; of a sober moral character. None who are Roman Catholics can be admitted; or, if any, after entry, shall become Papists, he or they shall forfeit whatever they have paid in to the Society.

VIII. That the box be under the management of an Overseer, or Preses, who is to be elected by the majority of said Society, whose office shall be, to convene the Members, sooner or later, as the exigence of affairs shall require, and proceed therein.

IX. That there be, at the same time the Preses is elected, three Key-masters, with eight assistants, who are to be on the standing Committee, and without whose consent, no money is to be given out of the box. The box is to have four keys, one to be kept by the Preses, and one by each of the Key-masters.

X. That the election shall be in this manner: A vote shall go round the Society, for outsetting of three men, and out of these three a Preses shall be elected by the majority of votes; and in like manner the rest of the Committee, in the speediest method the Society shall agree upon; and said Committee

Committee shall be in subordination to the Society, and all their deeds no farther binding than the first Society meeting.

XI. That our books, cash, bills, bonds, &c. shall be kept in the box provided for that purpose, except such parts of the cash as is put into the Box-master's hands for the use of our members in distress. The box to be kept in the Box-master's house.

XII. That the Box-master shall be chosen by majority; out of whose custody the box shall not be removed, without just cause; and that he shall give proper security for the box, books, money, &c.; the balance of money in his hand to be produced every quarter meeting, or committee, if called for.

XIII. That a clerk shall be chosen, whose office shall be, to keep a book, or books, of the Society; the same to be balanced quarterly, to keep free of strife, and each to know the strength of the fund.

XIV. That the Society's quarterly meetings shall be held on the first Monday of December, March, June, and September; and that the elections of managers shall be on the first Monday of December.

XV. The Committee shall divide themselves into six pairs; one of the said pairs shall visit the sick and lame members for one month in rotation, and report their case to the Preses or Box-master once a week, who, if they find their case dubious, shall visit also; but if they find any misconduct, irregularity, or imposition, in any member on the sick allowance, they shall be sustained as sufficient witnesses before the Committee, or Society, though no other should be adduced; but shall not vote in the affair.

XVI. That if any person in office do embezzle any of the Society's money, he shall refund the same, and be fined: But if any be convicted of a designed fraud, in matters of the Society's affairs, where either the Society in general, or
private

private Members in particular, may suffer loss, he so offending, shall not only make good their loss, but also be excluded.

XVII. That none of this fund be spent in either eating or drinking, by either Society or Committee, on any pretence.

XVIII. That as this Society's stock is now come to the maturity proposed in the former articles, it is therefore agreed, that the said stock is not to come below 90*l*., but raise the quarterly accounts as the Society shall see meet.

XIX. That the box shall be opened to the sick at four shillings per week.

XX. In case of death, the sum for burying any of said Society shall be 4*l*. Sterling out of the box, as funeral charges, to be paid the widow, or heir; if none, the Preses is to act, and see the Member decently interred.

XXI. The sum for burying a Member's wife, or widow, shall be 3*l*. Sterling, to be uplift at threepence from every Member: The Officer to warn all meetings of the Society, committees, and funerals; and to be paid quarterly.

XXII. No Member, while receiving the Society's allowance, shall go to any public diversion, gaming, horse-race, &c. unless ordered by a doctor, or visiting stewards, or do any thing to gain money; and is not to be drunk, or yet to be out of his lodging after ten at night: He, for any of these faults, without giving satisfaction to the Society, excludes himself.

XXIII. No Member, who shall have brought trouble upon himself, by drinking, fighting (unless in self-defence), or giving irritating language, or any irregular walk, the same being proven to the committee, shall have any allowance.

XXIV. If any Member be accused, and found guilty before a civil Magistrate, of any crime, or dishonesty, or habitual

bitual rioting, or battery ; he, for any of these faults, excludes himself of any benefit from the Society.

XXV. Every Member, when met in the Society or committee, and leaving either, without leave from the Preses, shall be fined threepence.

XXVI. Every Member shall attend the meeting of the Society, at the hour appointed, to pay his quarter accounts, if not, to pay one penny fine. Every Member shall attend at a brother's funeral, in his best clothes, and pay his collection, or twopence fine ; but a lawful excuse is taken in either. The committee is to attend at a sister's funeral.

XXVII. If any Member shall continue to receive the Society's allowance for nine months, while under the same disease, without intermission, he shall be reduced, at the expiring of nine months, to half allowance.

XXVIII. That any Member elected into the office of Preses, and refusing to serve, shall pay two shillings Sterling ; and a Key-master one shilling and sixpence ; a Steward one shilling : none of them to be elected that year again. All fines to go into the box.

XXIX. That if any Member shall be found indebted to the Society the sum of four termly payments, or quarter accounts, and not appear before the books are shut, he shall be declared no more a Member ; and if any owe two such quarter accounts, being within four miles of Edinburgh, he shall have no sick allowance ; but if any Member owe three full quarter accounts, within reach of the Officer, he shall not be entitled to the money allowed by the Society for interment ; but one quarter more is allowed those at a farther distance.

XXX. That it is provided that such Members as live four miles from town, be it from five to a hundred, or whatever more miles from Edinburgh, on sending their quarter accounts upon the fifth quarter, shall be continued Members ;
but,

But shall have no sick allowance, if they owe above three such quarter accounts, as specified in last Article.

XXXI. That if any Member, living beyond the bounds of the Officer, fall sick or lame, and demand the Society's allowance, he shall write, together with the following certificate, signed by the minister of the parish, elder of the bounds where he resides, and the doctor or surgeon who has him under cure; and his allowance is to be sent, according to the Articles, in what manner he shall appoint; (all letters sent to the Society shall be post-paid). The applying Member must repeat the certificate every time he makes a demand.

FORM OF THE CERTIFICATE.

THIS is to certify, that A. B. has resided in
parish of _____ and county of _____ the space
of _____ during which time he behaved himself so-
berly and honestly, and continues a Protestant. That upon
the _____ day of _____ last, (here mention his trouble
particularly; if a hurt, how he came by it, &c.); and that
his distemper does not proceed from any vicious or disorder-
ly behaviour. In testimony whereof, these presents are
signed at _____ the _____ day of _____

XXXII. That as it is the duty of every Member to promote the welfare of the Society, it is hereby agreed, that if any Member shall be convicted of speaking falsely of, or exposing the Society's private matters to persons unconcerned, or not being Members; or yet of throwing up to any, that he had a benefit of said Society; he shall pay two shillings Sterling of fine.

XXXIII. That none shall enter this Society, having left any other Society unjustly.

XXXIV. Every Member shall behave discreetly and de-

cently to the visiting masters; and in case of failure, shall be fined, as the Society shall determine: The Stewards also are appointed to behave in like manner to the sick or lame Members; and in case of the contrary, they shall be subject to the same forfeiture.

XXXV. If any Member thinks himself aggrieved by any deed of the Society, he hereby binds and obliges himself to submit himself to arbitrators, in the following form, viz. The aggrieved Member shall appoint one or more persons, as he pleases, provided he or they be not lawyers, as his arbitrators; and the Society shall appoint an equal number; and these arbitrators shall have power to choose another, but none of them shall be lawyers; and their determination shall be binding on all concerned. But it is hereby enacted and agreed, that the decision shall be given in to the Society within three months after the arbitrators are nominated; but if the decret-arbitral should exceed three months after nomination, the prior determination of the Society shall be binding on all concerned.

XXXVI. That in case any dissension shall arise in the Society, that may tend to its prejudice or subversion, it is hereby provided and declared, That if any three or more Members shall stand, conform to the tenor and spirit of the above Articles, the whole power of the box, money, bills, writings, &c. shall be entirely at their management, according to the sole and original design of these Articles.

XXXVII. That as there is nothing more prejudicial to the interests of Society, than the frequent changes of the laws and rules of procedure, on the whimsical views and caprice of particular Members, it is hereby agreed, That the Society shall, in no time coming, abrogate or disannul any one of the preceding Articles of agreement.—But as no human composition can be altogether perfect, so we do not suppose but time may yet discover something useful and necessary to be added

added hereto; it is therefore agreed, That the Society may condescend upon, and frame any additional article, or articles, or even make such alterations for improvement, as may evidently tend to strengthen and corroborate the foregoing, for the good of all concerned, but no otherwise: And any addition or alteration so proposed, must first pass three general meetings of the Society, before it pass into a law, that all may be advertised of the same.

XXXVIII. That every Member of the Society, and all further entrants, shall purchase a copy of the above Articles, for their perusal, that none may pretend ignorance of any one of them.

No. IV.

HISTORY OF THE SCOTISH BEADMEN.

THE only ancient alms-house in Scotland, answerable to the obscure history of our Beadmen, or Bluegowns, was that of the hospital of St Thomas, adjoining to the Water-gate of the Canongate, on the west side. It was founded in the reign of James the Fifth, by George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld, for the reception of a number of poor men, and was dedicated to God, the Virgin Mary, and All Saints. Besides the usual motives of charity, another purpose of the institution was, that prayers might be put up for the soul of the founder, that of the King of Scots, and those of sundry other persons mentioned in the institution. Special care was also taken, in allotting money for providing candles to be lighted up during the anniversary mass of Requiem; and the number and size of the tapers were fixed with a precision, which shows the importance in which these circumstances were held by the founder. The number of masses, paternosters, ave-maries, and credos, to be said by the chap-

hains and beadmen, is likewise distinctly ascertained. The patronage of this hospital was vested, by the founder, in himself, and a certain series of heirs named by him. In A. D. 1617, this hospital was disposed of by the chaplains and beadmen, with consent of the patron, to the bailties of the Canongate, to be used as an hospital for the poor of that district. It was rebuilt, at that time, by its new proprietors; but the patronage was afterwards, in 1634, sold by the Magistrates to the kirk-session of the Canongate, still, however, to be applied to the same charitable purpose*.

Till the Reformation, these beadmen were probably allowed to stroll about the country, like other orders of the Roman Catholic mendicants; but at that time would be obliged to lay aside the rosary, and to accommodate themselves to the new religion. By this compliance, they appear to have been continued a begging fraternity for some time, till the revenues of the hospital were by degrees embezzled, and at last entirely exhausted. It was this circumstance, most likely, which first recommended them to the humanity of the Barons of the Exchequer, for a small pittance, a gown and badge, with liberty to beg, as mentioned in page 529. This is corroborated, by a paragraph in a newspaper, called the Intelligencer, of the 1st June 1665, describing a magnificent procession, in honour of his Majesty's birthday, and restoration, on the 29th May, from Holyroodhouse, to divine service, in the church of St Giles. This procession was closed, by thirty-five aged men, in blue gowns, each having got thirty-five shillings in a purse, praying all along for his Majesty†; agreeably, as it would appear, to one of the conditions in the charter of foundation, by the bishop of Dunkeld.

No.

* Hist. of Edin. by H. Arnot Esq. advocate, 1788. p. 249.

† Ib. Appendix, p. 607.

No. V.

The following Extract from the Journal of the House of Commons, Ireland, appeared in the Newspaper called the Star, and in several others of the London Papers of the 20th April 1797.

Dublin, 14th April 1797.

SIR John Blaquiere, on Wednesday, called the attention of the House of Commons to a subject, which, he feared, would excite in the House as much horror in hearing, as he felt in the recital. It was one, on which he had once before troubled the House, and on which there was now a report on their Journals, namely, the abuses which prevailed in the Foundling Hospital. Some years back, he had been impelled, by motives of humanity, to bring this subject before Parliament; a Committee had been appointed, to inquire into the state of that institution; and such facts had come out, as astonished and appalled every man who had heard them. It appeared, on that inquiry, that of 2200 children annually received into that hospital, 1900 disappeared, without being accounted for. In consequence of this, and other facts equally shocking, having been fully proved, to the satisfaction of the Committee, a bill had been brought in, which unfortunately was lost, by some unaccountable apathy in gentlemen, who could not be brought to give the bill support. Unsuccessful in that attempt, he had, from that time to the present, silently lamented the disorders which prevailed in that Institution, in hopes that some gentleman, of more weight, would undertake to reform them.

Some days ago, however, he had been solicited to engage again in behalf of the interests of humanity ; and, on a more minute inquiry into the state of the Institution, he not only found, that there continued the same dreadful mortality among the children who were received into the Hospital, and disposed of to nurses in the country ; but that there existed an equal mortality among those who were retained within the Hospital. Here Sir John Blaquiere read some extracts, which he had made from the books of the Hospital, by which it appeared, that of 540 received into the House, from Christmas to the 25th of March last, 473 were murdered by negligence, or are dead ; and, as a proof of the inattention of those who superintend the Institution, he mentioned, that in the returns of the deaths, made by the officers, only three appeared to have died within that period. It was only on a scrutiny of the books, that the real number was ascertained. On further inquiries into the domestic management of the children, he said, he had found the most culpable and shocking neglect ; and that, in one instance, he had found fourteen children stowed into an upper room, for the purpose of dying. After dwelling pathetically on these, and some other circumstances of the same nature, he said, he hoped the humanity of the House would be roused to exert itself to remedy such shameful and shocking enormities. He was ready to assist, with all his power, any gentleman who would make a beginning on this business, in which he had once before been so unsuccessful.

Commissioner Annesly, Commissioner Beresford, and Mr Pelham, agreed in expressing the strongest sentiments of horror, at the statement which the Right Honourable Baronet had made ; called on him to move instantly for an inquiry, and promised him their utmost assistance. Sir John Blaquiere then moved, ‘ That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the state and management of the Found-
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ling

'ling Hospital.' The Committee was appointed, and are to sit, notwithstanding any adjournment of the House.

In consequence of the appointment of the above Committee, a strict examination was made into the state of the Foundling Hospital, and conduct of all concerned, in the reception of orphans. After this, a report was made, of the result of their inquiries, to the House of Commons, on the 8th of May 1797, by Sir John Blaquiére, who, after a long exordium, proceeded to read the several resolutions contained in the report. From these it appeared, that within the quarter ending the 25th March last, 540 children were received into the Hospital, of whom, in the same space of time, 450 died: that in the last quarter, the official report of the hospital stated the deaths at three; while the actual number was found to be 203: that from the 25th March to 13th April, nineteen days, 116 infants were admitted; of which number there died 112. Within the last six years, there were admitted 12,786; died in that time 12,651: so that, in six years, only 135 children were saved to the public and to the world. The Honourable Baronet added, that he would bring proof of the most foul and horrid murders, having been committed by women, who made this species of murder a trade, who were employed to bring children from the country to the Hospital: of this, two instances he could mention in particular; one, of a woman who was executed for these murders in the county of Cavan, and who had been in the sanguinary practice for fifteen years; the other confessed at the gallows, to which she was brought by other offences, that she pursued this traffic in blood for twenty-four years: and he could also bring proof, that these infernal wretches, not unfrequently, formed of the unfortunate infants committed to their care, an easy seat on the car which brought them to town: many of these infants throats were cut, the barbarous perpetrators

APPENDIX.

thereby saving their journey to town. The Honourable Baronet observed, that in addition to this outrage on humanity, and waste of population, the nation was put to a vast annual expence, for a charity, not merely ineffectual, but wholly prevented by the negligence of the physician, surgeon, and apothecary, appointed under salary to attend the Hospital; and concluded, by enumerating certain clauses of a bill, which he intended bringing into the House, if encouraged, and which would remedy the existing abuses, and prevent future ones. The principal provisions were, the confining the benefits of the charity to the kingdom alone; and the appointment of a foundling-hospital in each county throughout the kingdom, to be annexed to the county infirmaries, and to be under the care of a certain number of guardians or directors.

No. VI.

The following Account of the Population of England, at the demise of Edward III, is taken from a most useful paper, presented to the Society of Antiquaries in London, by the ingenious and accurate Mr Topham,* and likewise from a commentary on that paper by the correct Mr Chalmers, in his Comparative Estimate, &c.

A poll-tax of fourpence having been imposed by Parliament, the 51st of Edward III. (1377), on every lay person, as well male as female, of fourteen years and upwards, real mendicants only excepted, there remains an official return of the persons who paid the tax in each county, city, or town, which has been happily preserved. This subsidy-roll shows, that the lay persons who paid the before mentioned poll-tax, amounted to 1,367,239. It appears, however, from the table formed by Doctor Halley, according to the Breslaw births and burials; the Northampton table; Norwich table; the London table, constructed by Mr Simpson, as these tables are published by Doctor Price,—that the persons, at any time living, under fourteen years of age, are a good deal fewer than one third of the co-existing lives; and the lay persons who paid the tax, in 1377, must consequently have been considerably above two thirds of the whole. But to make up for omissions, add to 1,367,239, one half this number, 683,619, which makes 2,050,858; then take in the beneficed clergy, 15,229, and the non-beneficed

* Archæologia, vol. VII. p. 337.

beneficed clergy, 14,932, paying the tax, the total is, 2,080,019. Wales, not being included in this roll, is placed on a footing with Yorkshire, at 196,560 : Cheshire and Durham, as palatinates, having had their own receivers, do not appear on the roll ; the first is ranked with Cornwall at 51,411 ; the second with Northumberland, at 25,213 :—The whole people of England and Wales, by the above statement, will amount to 2,353,203.

From the above poll-tax, 1377, the following appears to have been the population of the population of the principal towns of England at that period :

London paid for	23,314 lay persons, and con-	
tained, consequently, about	—	34,971 souls.
York for	7,248	10,872
Bristol for	6,345	9,517
Plymouth for	4,837	7,255
Coventry for	4,817	7,225
Norwich for	3,952	5,928
Lincoln for	3,412	5,118
Sarum (Wilts) for	3,226	4,839
Lynn for	3,127	4,690
Colchester for	2,955	4,432
Beverly for	2,663	3,994
Newcastle on Tyne for	2,647	3,970
Canterbury for	2,574	3,861
St Edmondsbury for	2,442	3,663
Oxford for	2,357	3,535
Glocester for	2,239	3,358
Leicester for	2,101	3,151
Salop for	2,082	3,123

The

The foregoing are the only towns which, in 1377, paid the poll-tax of a groat for more than two thousand lay persons, of fourteen years of age and upwards. And their inconsiderableness exhibits a marvellous depopulation in the country, and a lamentable want of manufactures and of commerce, everywhere in England. The state of Scotland was still more wretched, with regard to all these. Doomesday-book represents our cities to have been little superior to villages at the Conquest, and much more inconsiderable than they certainly were at the demise of Edward III. * These calculations we must suppose to be pretty correct; the numbers appear not to be exaggerated, though more than existed in England about twenty-five years before the tax mentioned was levied; as may be justly inferred, not only from the many bloody conflicts which took place between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, during the reigns of the three first Edwards; but likewise from the plague with which this country was most grievously afflicted in the years 1349 and 1350. This pestilence from the north of Asia, which spread over all Europe, raged with such violence, as to carry off, in most countries, and particularly in England, a third of the inhabitants.—Hume's History, vol. II. p. 448.

* Chalmers' Comparative Estimate. Lond. 1794, p. 16.

No. VII.

The following Abstracts are taken from the Authentic Return by act of Parliament, to the Legislature, of the Population of Great Britain, printed in two volumes, folio, 9th of June 1802.

Total of persons in England	8,331,434
In Wales -	541,546
Army, including militia -	198,351
Navy, including marines -	126,279
Seamen in registered vessels -	144,558
Convicts -	1,410
Total in England and Wales	9,343,578
The islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, the Scilly islands, and the Isle of Man, are not comprised in this enumeration; but the population of these islands are supposed to amount to	
	80,000
	9,423,578
Total of the returns from Scotland	1,599,068
Parishes from which there has been no return, and estimated at	8,692
	1,607,760
Grand total of Great Britain	11,031,338

In

In the foregoing Return is given the Population of the following Cities and Towns.

London contains, of persons of all ages,	864,845
Manchester	84,020
Liverpool	77,653
Birmingham	73,670
Bristol	63,645
Leeds	53,162
Plymouth	43,194
Newcastle on Tyne	36,963
Norwich	36,854
Bath	32,200
Portsmouth	32,166
Sheffield	31,314
Hull	29,516
Nottingham	28,861
Exeter	17,308
Leicester	16,953
York	16,145
Coventry	16,034
Oxford	11,694
Colchester	11,520
Lynn	10,096
Canterbury	9,000
St Edmundsbury	7,655
Glocester	7,579
Beverly	6,001

It is worth while to observe on the population of the metropolis, that if the regiments of guards and militia in London, with the seamen on board the registered vessels in the river Thames, were added to the 864,845, that the metropolis

metropolis would undoubtedly exceed 900,000 souls, almost a tenth part of the population of England and Wales. The population of those cities and towns, given on the demise of Edward III., is certainly now greatly increased; but as mention is not made of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, and some others, now the most considerable in England, for the number of their inhabitants, arising from their manufactures and commerce, we must suppose them, in those days, to have been villages, which they certainly were.

Population of some of the Principal Cities and Towns in Scotland.

Edinburgh	-	-	82,560
Glasgow	-	-	77,385
Aberdeen	-	-	35,412
Dundee	-	-	26,084
Greenock	-	-	17,458
Paisley	-	-	17,026
Leith	-	-	15,270
Perth	-	-	14,878
Dunfermline	-	-	9,980
Falkirk	-	-	8,838
Kilmarnock	-	-	8,079
Montrose	-	-	7,974
Dumfries	-	-	7,288
Campbeltown	-	-	7,093
St Ninians	-	-	6,849
Inveresk and Musselburgh	-	-	6,604
Hamilton	-	-	5,908
Ayr	-	-	5,492
Brechin	-	-	5,466

Dyfarth

Dyfarth	-	-	5,385
Stirling	-	-	5,256
Rothefay	-	-	5,231
Forfar	-	-	5,165
Arbroath	-	-	4,943
Lanark	-	-	4,692
Irvine	-	-	4,584
Kelso	-	-	4,196
Haddington	-	-	4,049
Dunbar	-	-	3,951
Port-Glasgow	-	-	3,865
Jedburgh	-	-	3,838
Linlithgow	-	-	3,594
Kirkaldy	-	-	3,248

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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